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# Korean Affairs Report

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14 May 1984

# KOREAN AFFAIRS REPORT

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## INTER-KOREAN AFFAIRS

### KIM IL-SONG PHOTO ALTERATIONS ALLEGED

Seoul HANGUK ILBO in Korean 4 Mar 84 p 6

[Article by Choi Sang Kyon: "Photos of Kim Il-song Show Alterations"]

[Text] Everyone knows that North Korea's Kim Il-song is an impostor who uses someone else's name and history of anti-Japanese resistance struggles. He is no other than Kim Song-ju, a bandit who used Manchuria as a staging area, and was involved in arson and murder during the Japanese colonial period. The truth about this unprecedented drama of fraud has come to light more clearly as a result of research conducted by scholars both in Korea and abroad. The material evidence which Kim Il-song made public in order to prove he was the real Kim Il-song has turned out to be the corroborative proof of his fabrication.

In his autobiography, published in 1968, and in the Museum of the Korean Revolution, which opened in 1972 on the 60th anniversary of his birth, Kim Il-song made available a photo which allegedly contained a picture of himself at the time of the anti-Japanese struggle. Photos No 2 and No 3 are those in question; however, these photos yielded unintended results. Kim Il-song falsely claimed that the figure with an X mark was himself, but the lie was quickly exposed by renowned photo identification organizations in the world.

An expert in this field, Professor Lee Myong-yong of Sung Kyun Kwan University, requested the Japanese Metropolitan Police Office and the U.S. CIA for verification of the photos. He said that he was notified of the results of the verification, which showed that the person with the X on the photo was not the same Kim Il-song of Pyongyang today.

Professor Lee also pointed out that the person with the X on the photo was not only not the Kim Il-song of today, but that the photo itself was altered. Photo No 1 was the original picture from which the doctored photos No 2 and No 3 were derived. Photo No 1 had been in the possession of Kitabe Kunio, who was once a lieutenant colonel in the Japanese Imperial Army and served as a tactical and intelligence staff officer of a mopping up army in Manchuria. Professor Lee was able to acquire the photo from the family of Kitabe after his death. Even a layman could easily tell that the person marked with the X in photo No 1, and the person with the X in photos No 2 and No 3 are the same person. The picture was taken at the same location with a log cabin in the background.

Professor Lee points out that Kim Il-song has never made the original photo No 1 publicly available. To anyone's eye, the person with the X on the photo which has been falsely claimed to be Pyongyang's Kim Il-song does not appear to be the central figure in the group. In mountain life, where discipline was strict, persons A and B, who could afford to cross their legs, were clearly more important than the one with the X. Kim Il-song's motive for erasing persons A and B from the original photo, or for shifting the positions of other figures to give the person with the X more prominence, does not require any further explanation.

In photo No 2, it is easily noticeable that the two persons, A and B, between persons X and C are missing, and that the distance between X and C has been narrowed. In photo No 3, between X and C, person D with white gloves appeared. He was no other than the person who sat on the extreme left in photo No 2. It is also clear in this picture that a shack was moved forward in the background by widening the distance between the persons standing in the back row.

Professor Lee stated that the Japanese specialists were in complete agreement with his analysis of the photo.

Who then were those persons in the picture?

X is Kim Il-song, the commander of the Second District Army of the First Route Army of the Northeast Anti-Japanese Allied Forces. Is this the legendary Kim Il-song? No. Of course, this is not the Kim Il-song of Pyongyang, whose real name is Kim Sung-ju.

According to Professor Lee, there were three persons named Kim Il-song, including the commander of the Second District Army. There were two others who preceded this commander.

The true identity of Kim Il-song, commander of the Second District Army, was discovered in 1940, when his wife Kim He-soon, who was the head of the Women's Youth Department of the Second District Army, and many other leaders were captured and had their testimonies extracted. This Kim Il-song was born in 1906, and his original name was Kim Il-song (different characters with same sound). When he was a student at Dae-sung Middle School in Yong-jong, Kando, the Kando Insurrection of 30 May 1930 broke out. He was arrested while he was actively setting fires during the insurrection. However, he managed to escape to the Soviet Union where he subsequently graduated from a military academy. In the mid-1930's, he, as a Russian army officer, was sent into Manchuria where he became the commander of the Second District Army. He was engaged in guerrilla activities until December 1940, when he was driven out of Manchuria during the general offensive of the Japanese and Manchurian military and police. He died in the Soviet Union before the liberation of Korea on 15 August 1945.

He left behind altogether three photos--one in a sitting position with his unit men (photo No 1), one in the same spot in a standing position, and a third one, with his wife, Kim He-soon, and the women members of the unit. The last photo was smuggled out of Japan through the manipulation of the General Association

of Korean Residents in Japan and ended up in the hands of Kim Il-song of North Korea. Professor Lee said that Kim Il-song has not made this picture public. If this picture which contains the picture of Kim He-soon is made public, then it is obvious that Kim Il-song, who took Kim Jung-sook (or Kim Chung-sook) as his wife in the mountain, could not very well claim that he was the same Kim Il-song who was the commander of the Second District Army.

These photos were captured at a field camp by the Japanese and Manchurian Military and Police, which launched an encirclement and annihilation campaign against the Northeast Anti-Japanese Allied Forces from October 1939.

Professor Lee said that there was an episode when Kim Sung-ju returned to liberated Korea with the mask of Kim Il-song on in accordance with the scenario drawn up by Soviet military authorities. Kim He-soon, the wife of the commander of the Second District Army, who was in North Korea, went to see him believing that he was her husband, but he was said to have turned around and did not see her.

Professor Lee explained that persons A and B in photo No 1 were Chinese, and named Wei Chi-min, deputy commander of the First Route Army of the Northeast Anti-Japanese Allied Forces, and Chun Kwang (real name of O Sung-ryun), general manager of the First Route Army, respectively. Identities of others in the picture have not been determined.

Before the Kim Il-song who was the commander of the Second District Army, there was another Kim Il-song, who was the commander of the Sixth Division, Second Army, First Route Army, Northeast Anti-Japanese Allied Forces.

Kim Il-song, the commander of the Sixth Division never left a photo behind. He was born in Hamkyong Namdo in 1901, 5 years before the commander of the Second District Army. His original name was Kim Sung-ju, like the other Kim Sung-ju, but spelled with different characters. In 1935, he became the commander of the Sixth Division of the Northeast Anti-Japanese Allied Forces. He was in charge of the attack on Bochonbo, Kapsan County, Hamnam on the night of 4 June 1937. He was killed in action on 13 November of the same year. In fact, after his death the commander of the Second District Army of the Allied Forces took over the post of the Sixth Division Commander and changed his name to Kim Il-song, the name of the late commander. In early 1939, the First and Second Armies of the First Route Army, Northeast Anti-Japanese Allied Forces were integrated and reorganized into the First, Second, and Third District Armies. At this time, only his title was changed to the commander of the Second District Army.

Kim Il-song, the commander of the Sixth Division, was a graduate of the Moscow Communist University, and like the commander of the Second District Army, he too was engaged in guerrilla activities.

Professor Lee maintained that it was difficult to classify the Northeast Anti-Japanese Allied Forces as anti-Japanese resistance or a revolutionary group. It could only be classified as a bandit group which was engaged in indiscriminate murder, looting and arson.

Kim Il-song claimed that the Bocheonbo attack, which was actually led by the other Kim Il-song who was the commander of the Sixth Division, was led by himself, who led the so-called Korean People's Revolutionary Army. He lied and said that the battle was the most brilliantly executed of his anti-Japanese struggles. As material evidence for his dreams of fabrication, he uses the photo belonging to the commander of the Second District Army, and steals the personal history belonging to the commander of the Sixth Division. His claims do not jive with the facts. Moreover, according to Professor Lee, there was no such Korean underground organization called the Korean People's Revolutionary Army in Manchuria. In compliance with the directive from Moscow which put up the principle of "one nation, one party," all the active communists in Manchuria were integrated into the Northeast Anti-Japanese Allied Forces. The mounted bandits, local bandits, and soldier bandits were of course among the ranks of the Northeast Anti-Japanese Allied Forces.

According to Professor Lee's research, the Bocheonbo Incident, touched off by the Sixth Division, was hardly such a gigantic and brilliant anti-Japanese operation as North Korea claimed it was. It was no more than an indiscriminate looting by a bandit group to procure materials. What made it different from other lootings was that the Sixth Division distributed leaflets of anti-Japanese content before it pulled out following their looting.

Then, who was the real Kim Il-song who left behind legendary fame? He was neither the commander of the Sixth Division nor the commander of the Second District Army. Particularly, the Kim Il-song of North Korea today is of course quite remote from the bona fide Kim Il-song.

Professor Lee thought that the Kim Il-song of North Korea might very well have been a middle level officer under Commander Kim Il-song of the Second District Army.

The bona fide Kim Il-song was born much earlier than any other Kim Il-song. He was a native of Bukchong, Hamnam, born in 1887. His original name was Kim Kwang-so, who graduated from the Cavalry Department of the Japanese Military Academy in 1911. Professor Lee explained that the date of birth of Kim Kwang-so on the family register was recorded as 5 June 1888; however, 1888 might very well have been written by mistake, instead of 1887. His address of domicile was recorded to be 166 Sajik-dong, Chongno-Ku, Seoul, as appeared in his application for the census survey. His place of birth was Bukchong, Hamnam, explained Professor Lee. Unable to control his emotions when he learned that Korean students in Tokyo had issued a declaration of independence on 8 February 1919, he went to Manchuria, accompanied by Chi Dae-hyong (General Lee Chong-chun), who graduated from the Japanese Military Academy 3 years after him, and became an instructor at the Shin-hung Military Academy, a training center for the Korean Independence Army.

According to Professor Lee, he, with the support of the Russian Bolsheviks, participated with his 1,000 followers in expelling the Japanese occupation army from Siberia. Thus, his records of anti-Japanese struggles surpassed even those of other well known leaders of anti-Japanese struggles, such as Mun Chang-bum and Lee Tong-hui. But, following the departure of the Japanese army,

the Bolsheviks betrayed and imprisoned Kim Kwang-so. He was betrayed because he was not a communist, but a nationalist leader who fought for the independence of Korea, maintained Professor Lee.

In 1925, the legendary General Kim Kwang-so vanished from the scene. Professor Lee maintained that when the Nazi-Soviet war broke out in 1940, Kim Kwang-so, who was in prison, volunteered to join the war. He served as a commander of a Soviet army division, but was later killed in action in 1945. Besides Kim Il-song, he had other pseudonyms such as Kim Kyong-chun or Yun Kyong-chun.

On 14 October 1945, when General Kim Il-song's welcoming mass rally by Pyongyang citizens was held at the Pyongyang Municipal Stadium, the people who had expected to see the legendary General Kim Kwang-so, otherwise known as Kim Il-song, were deeply disappointed when the 34-year-old man, Kim Sung-ju, appeared instead.

Kim Sung-ju, the present phony Kim Il-song of Pyongyang, was born in 1912. He dropped out of school when he was at Yukmun Middle School in Kilin Province, Manchuria, and joined a bandit group.

Professor Lee pointed out that the most spiteful fabrication of all staged by the North Korean Kim Il-song was his insistence that the picture of the commander of the Second District Army of the First Route Army of the Northeast Anti-Japanese Allied Forces was he.

#### Captions

##### Photo No 1

The original. Kim Il-song (X), commander of the Second District Army, Northeast Anti-Japanese Allied Forces, printed in "A Short History of the Police of Manchukuo," which was recently published in Japan. This was reproduced from Professor Lee Myong-yong's "Biography of Kim Il-song." The original photo is in the possession of Professor Lee.

##### Photo No 2

The altered photo printed in "Kim Il-song's Biography." Kim Il-song alleges that "X" is himself.

##### Photo No 3

The altered photo which is hung on the wall of the Korean Revolutionary Museum.

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CSO: 4107/115

INTER-KOREAN AFFAIRS

SEOUL REPORTS 2D SPORTS TALKS AT PANMUNJOM

SK300348 Seoul Domestic Service in Korean 0300 GMT 30 Apr 84

[Text] The second sports talks between North and South Korea are being held at the conference room of the Neutral Nations Supervisory Commission [NNSC] in Panmunjom beginning at 1000 today. Reporter Yi Han-yong is reporting this:

[Begin apparent recording] With the participation of five representatives each from the North and the South, the second sports talks between the North and South began at the conference room of the NNSC in Panmunjom at 1000 today.

The North-South sports talks have been suspended because the North Korean side unilaterally walked out of the earlier first talks. The talks have been resumed after 21 days because the North Korean side sent a letter on 28 April agreeing with the proposal dated 24 April by Chong Chu-yong, chairman of the Korea Amateur Sports Association and chairman of the Korea Olympic Committee, that the second talks be held today.

Participating in today's talks from our side are five persons, including delegation head Kim Chong-kyu. Also participating in the talks are five persons from the North Korean side with Kim Tuk-chun, vice chairman of the North Korean Olympic Committee, who did not attend the first talks, as the delegation's head.

Before today's talks, the North Korean side said that, in Kaesong they saw the soccer game between our country and Iraq that was held last night. They even said that, if a single team from the South and the North had been formed, it would surely have won.

In particular, today, the North Korean representatives and reporters even showed a serious attitude in their consistently hard facial expressions and by their study one by one, of the looks of our side's representatives and reporters.

I have been reporting from the Secretariat of the South-North Coordinating Committee. [end recording]

CSO: 4107/169



## S. KOREA/POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

### NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION LAW AMENDMENT DEBATED

Election in 6 Weeks

Seoul TONGA ILBO in Korean 21 Feb 84 p 1

[Article: "The Election To Be Held Within Six Weeks; No Candidate To Run for the Assembly, Once Leaving From a Political Party"]

[Text] Candidacy Barred

It has been learned that both the governing and opposition parties, which are pushing for the amendment of the National Assembly Election Law, are seriously considering a proposal which would bar the candidacy of those who--for the purpose of making restrictions tighter for the independent candidates in the forthcoming 12th general elections--leave a political party within 6 months prior to the election. They are also considering a proposal for a sharp increase in the independent candidates' registration deposit. It has also been learned that both parties are considering the question concerning the insertion of party identification marks on the ballot.

#### Electoral Eligibility Restriction Opposed

It is expected that the proposal for the tightening of restrictions on the independent candidate will become a disputed political topic. Some members of the opposition say this proposal is unconstitutional since it would impose restrictions on the people's electoral eligibility, which is their basic right.

On the 21st, highly placed political sources said, "It is reasonable to give preferential treatment to those candidates coming with party recommendations in order to prevent the confusion of the electoral atmosphere, resulting from the development of a party government and from the chaotic candidacy of migratory politicians." They went on to reveal that a proposal of this nature was being closely studied. "The spirit of the current National Assembly Election Law, which differentiated the amounts of deposits for election registration between the candidates with party endorsements and independent candidates, must be understood in such a context," said the sources.

Still other sources said: "The behavior of those who change their party affiliations or run as independents when they fail to receive the party's

official endorsement amounts to the rejection of the logic of victory and defeat, and is anti-democratic." The sources went on to say: "It is desirable to tightly restrict the independent candidacy for the sake of stopping the appearance of migratory politicians."

In this connection, a high-ranking official in the Democratic Korea Party stated: "I do not have any objections to imposing restrictions on the independent candidacy for the development of a party government." He went on to say: "The question concerning the introduction of a new provision for the restriction of the independent candidacy in the amendment proposal for the National Assembly Election Law is under serious study."

On the other hand, some political segments are opposed to the proposal on the grounds that: "Restricting the candidacy of the independents is in fact tantamount to the restriction of electoral eligibility. Not only is this contrary to the constitutional provision which provides that the electoral eligibility is a basic right of the people, but also, in consequence, it may have effects on the people's right to choose from a wide range of candidates. Indeed, there is danger that it might even lead to restricting the voting rights."

Article 32 of the current National Assembly Law stipulates: "One who registers for a candidacy in an electoral district must make a deposit of 15 million won to the district election administration commission when the application is submitted, as designated by the president. However, one who registers for a candidacy in a district with the endorsement of his/her party must deposit only 7 million won." According to paragraph 6, Article 26 of the same law: "In case a party member leaves his/her party, changes his/her party affiliation, or is expelled from his/her party during the period beginning with the day of the official election announcement through to the last day of candidacy registration, he/she may not register as a candidate for the election."

#### Larger New Party

Seoul TONGA ILBO in Korean 21 Feb 84 p 1

[Article: "A New Political Party Yet To Be Formed is Likely To Be Larger Than Expected"]

[Text] The second lifting of the ban on political activities is expected to occur on or around the 24th. It is curious as to what extent those rehabilitated politicians will be accommodated by the existing political parties. Some heavy weights will likely be among them. As a result, a large new party is expected to emerge. When this new party with those influential figures emerges, the present state of the relationship between the governing and opposition political forces will be so affected that by the opening of the 12th National Assembly, a reshuffling of the political community will likely be inevitable.

On the 21st, an official of the Democratic Justice Party said with regard to the political situation following the second lifting (of the ban on political



activities) that "it is the view of the Democratic Justice Party that the rise of a new party would be inevitable." What he implied was that the second lifting of the ban could contribute to conditions conducive to the creation of a new party.

This party member said: "Although I believe that many of the rehabilitated politicians will be absorbed by the existing political parties, the emergence of a new party appears to be inevitable because of their competitive relationship with the current members of the National Assembly in bidding for the official party endorsement for candidacy to the National Assembly." He went on: "I believe that it may not be before May when we find out more about whether the rehabilitated politicians will join the existing political parties or form a new one."

It is certain that it will be difficult for the Democratic Korea Party to accommodate a good number of politicians rehabilitated by the first two liftings because of intraparty factors, including the future of the current members of the National Assembly from this party.

With regard to this matter, Yu Chi-song, president of the Democratic Korea Party, who returned from his trip abroad on the 21st stated: "I hope that all the people under political restrictions will be freed as soon as possible, and I will, from the party's standpoint, try to enable many of them to join the Democratic Korea Party." He went on: "When these rehabilitated figures join the party, they will do so free of conditions." But, he said that he would discuss at a party affairs meeting the procedures for joining the party by the rehabilitated persons. But, the prevailing feeling within the Democratic Korea Party seems to be that the current members of the National Assembly from this party should receive preferential official party endorsements for their candidacy. As to party endorsements for the newly joined rehabilitated persons for their candidacy in regional electoral districts, the party is mainly considering those districts where its candidates were recently defeated, or other unpromising electoral districts. Thus, the door for rehabilitated persons in this party does not look wide open.

On the other hand, a political source speculated that the political heavy weights would be freed in the forthcoming second lifting, and that there is a strong possibility that these rehabilitated heavy weights would participate in a new party. Citing the power relationship between these heavy weights and those politicians active in the existing political structures, the source foresees that if these people join the new party, this new party could possibly become a party of considerable magnitude.

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CSO: 4107/105

## S. KOREA/POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

### LEADERS OF DEMOCRATIC JUSTICE PARTY DESCRIBED

Seoul WOLGAN CHOSON in Korean Mar 84 pp 160-183

[Article by Ku Wol-hwan, deputy director of the Political Department, Yonhap T'ongsin: "Personages Who Run the Democratic Justice Party [DJP]; What Locus Is Being Drawn, in the History of Constitutional Government, by the DJP, Which Enjoys the Membership of 1 Million, Which Spends 8.7 Billion Won a Year, and Which Is Making Preparations for General Elections Employing the '3-3' Strategy?"]

[Text] A Giant Party That Is Different From Political Parties in the Past

The DJP is a giant political party. It is the largest party, in scale, of all the government parties that have emerged since the liberation. It has under its command 151 National Assemblymen and 1 million members. Indeed, there were in the past political parties which claimed that they had a membership of 1 million; however, the figure they claimed was rather fictional [in all cases]. The DJP's 1 million membership is different from conventional firepower in that it is organized and trained.

In the general election held 3 years ago, on 25 March 1981, the DJP became the government party of a republic which emerged as the Fifth Republic in the history of constitutional government of this country, beating a number of political parties which claimed that they had roots. It is such a giant party which is spending 90 percent of the total amount of its political funds, which are made public. It stands out more prominently because there is no other political group that is capable of replacing it. Thus it is drawing more and more attention. It has gained strength so much that one can hardly recognize it, compared to the time of its inauguration. It is taking roots as a national party.

[Caption for the illustration]: The DJP's inauguration convention held at the Chamsil Gymnasium in Seoul on 15 January 1981. At the convention, the DJP, the first political party of the Fifth Republic, elected President Chon Tu-hwan the first president of the party and the party's candidates for the 12th [ROK] president.

At the zenith of the DJP is President Chon Tu-hwan, needless to say. The party president appoints party officials and gets reports about party affairs. If necessary, he issues directives regarding the operation of the party in

general. However, President Chon does not come to the party office quarters [to work]. Among the party officials who come to work at the party office quarters, the highest rank goes to the representative member, who presides over the Central Executive Committee and the Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee--the highest deliberative organs of the party in peacetime.

These deliberative bodies meet regularly once a week on Tuesdays to discuss party affairs. However, as often seen in the political pattern of monolithic control system, few nucleus issues are first brought to these deliberative bodies for discussion. It would be accurate to say that politically touchy issues will first be dealt with, under tight security, by a very small number of party officials.

Thus the centripetal force is to be formed by the person who reports to the president about party affairs and who recommends alternative plans to him. This is the reason that when one says "the DJP," one often associates it with the secretary general. The strong point of the system of government of direct administration, which is formed by the "president-secretary general" channel, is that it maintains a high efficiency. Of course, the president can constantly grasp party affairs through other channels, too. At times, he meets with pertinent officials individually and holds long talks.

However, to describe briefly the DJP's process of decision making and implementation, it is nothing but a simple scheme of the president-secretary general channel. However, actual political situations are to be characterized as very diverse, greatly changeable, and delicate and, accordingly, a certain number of officials are given discretionary authority to the extent that they may act like frontline commanders in the battlefield.

The daily business of the DJP is run by these officials.

Dual Structure Formed by Party Founders and Those National Assemblymen Who Were Reelected Many Times

From such viewpoints as stated above, we can cite the following three persons as nucleus personages who have brought up the DJP till now since its founding: National Assemblymen Kwon Chong-tal, Kwon Ik-hyon, and Yi Chong-ch'an.

Kwon Chong-tal and Kwon Ik-hyon are secretary generals: respectively former and incumbent. National Assemblyman Yi Chong-ch'an has been in the position of floor leader since the opening of the 11th National Assembly.

These three persons are "faces" who represent the DJP. They hold the highest relative importance as natural men.

The DJP has more than 30 National Assemblymen who were reelected more than twice. However, none of them has exercised noteworthy power of influence or has played the role of nucleus either at the time of party inauguration or since. National Assemblyman Yi Chae-hyong, who was elected six times, was the only person who exercised some power of influence during the 2-year period in which he served as the representative member.

In contradistinction to the case of non-government parties, in which those National Assemblymen who were elected many times are wielding major influence on the party by holding positions of president, secretary general, or floor leader, the DJP National Assemblymen who were elected many times have been playing only auxiliary roles in the symbolic position. Sometimes their power of influence is so weak that we may call it ceremonial. Such was the case with the following persons who became the representative member one after another succeeding National Assemblyman Yi Chae-hyong: National Assemblyman Chin Ui-chong (elected three times); National Assemblyman Chong Nae-hyok (elected three times); Chairman Ch'ae Mun-sik (elected four times) and Vice-Chairman Yun Kil-tong (elected four times) of the National Assembly. In other instances, positions requiring experience are filled by those National Assemblymen who were elected many times. For example, positions of the three key officials of the party, such as the chairman of the Policy Committee and the chairman of the standing committee of the National Assembly, are frequently held by those National Assemblymen who were elected many times.

It seems that the dual personnel structure of the DJP described above is attributable to inevitable circumstances of the party.

From the viewpoint of placing emphasis on the background of birth, the DJP's inauguration game was played in discontinuation and reform. The DJP publicly expressed its strong ideal-seeking will, thoroughly denying the climate, spirit, and personages of the past: it is designed to bring about a new era and a new history by means of reforming political society. Thus it segregated prominent personages of the past from political circles. Although those who made comparatively few political errors among those political personages who were engaged in political activities of the past were allowed to join the party, it was above all regarded as illogical to entrust them with the task of hewing out the way after discontinuation. Those who "made comparatively few political errors"--labeled as such in terms of their characteristics--included the following: those who were estranged from political power or who did not take key positions at the time of the Konghwa and Sinmin Parties; and those who, although they took party positions, could wield only mediocre power of influence. Analyzing the situation from such a viewpoint, we can say that those political personages of the past who were elected more than twice were allowed to join the DJP in order to maintain accord in the party rather than to play any role.

Furthermore, because these National Assemblymen who were elected many times failed to take part in the reform made after the 17 May and failed to join the inauguration group of the DJP, it was difficult for them to be appointed to important positions. They were segregated in terms of their personality and roles, too.

#### Denial of Relationship With the Past

In contradistinction to the case of non-government parties, such as the Minhan Party and the Kungmin Party, in which they emphasized roots of the past, the DJP rejected relationship with the past and has done its best to take new roots since inauguration.

The dual structure the DJP has set forth since its inauguration is its only resort in the process of taking new roots in the early days of inauguration.

In other words, such a measure as stated above can be interpreted as a reflection of the following realistic considerations: to minimize the risks, and the feeling of heterogeneity which those beginners in politics who have lived away from politics up to that time suddenly have to face when they come out to the political front; and, on the other hand, to transplant effectively intentions of the new leading force in political circles.

The operational system of the party, such as the current one, represents a strategy designed to mitigate shocks--a strategy based largely on realistic necessity. There are many who think that such a system will become actual-situation-oriented sooner or later. The reason for such a view is that the phenomenon of estrangement based on the disparity between the stereotyped formula and the actual role can hardly be regarded as an ideal pattern from the viewpoint of the unification and rationalization of organization. The more norms of the system, such as the party constitution and party regulations, are belittled while the authority and the power of influence are being exercised, the more personal arbitrary intentions of a particular person can be interposed. Such a phenomenon as this should not be encouraged, considering that the public system of organization must be secured.

When a move for reorganization came on the occasion of the party congress held in March last year, 2 years after the inauguration, there was a rumor that it was proposed that Kwon Ik-hyon be appointed representative member and Yi Chong-ch'an secretary general. It is noteworthy that not a few in the party supported the proposal. These supporters counted on their evaluation of the personal competence of those candidates and the principle of public organization that the system and function should be kept in accord with each other.

#### Two Wheels That Make the Party Run

In view of the fact that the reorganization effected in March last year had a close relationship with the strategy to be employed in the 12th General Election, it is likely that the present Kwon Ik-hyon Yi Chong-ch'an establishment will be carried on through the coming general election unless some special changes come up.

Following the next election, the DJP will hold a party congress in spring 1985--a congress scheduled to be held every 2 years. It is possible that around that time, the pattern of the dual system of the party operation, such as the present one, will be changed. Namely, from now on, unlike the early days of inauguration, it is in prospect that personnel actions will be taken in such a way as to place leading members in actual-situation-oriented [positions] so that name and reality will be kept in accord with each other.

It may be too early to discuss the future of the DJP--the future following the coming general election.

In view of the fact--a historical transformation--that the term of President Chon Tu-hwan ends during the term of the coming 12th National Assembly, it is noteworthy how much of the strategies to be employed in connection with the second half of the term of President Chon will be projected on the coming

election and the reorganization of the party. In view of these big changes expected in the future, it is possible to anticipate that the DJP after 1985 will also change.

In view of the duplexity of the DJP characterized in terms of positions and personnel, we can understand that personnel actions were taken on the basis of the following two policy causes: the strengthening of the foundation of the government and the accommodation to realities.

The secretary general and the floor leader have had positions as sort of independent variables functioning in behalf of the DJP up to now. One may call them two wheels that make the DJP run.

At times, other party positions, including representative member, may be regarded as largely subordinate variables.

It is a statement based on optimum observation to say that the common sense practice in the DJP is that the positions and the radii of roles in the party depend on who becomes the secretary general or the floor leader and what radius of action the secretary general or the floor leader has. Of course, if the representative member or any other position ever becomes the nucleus, the statement will have to be made in a different way.

It is commonly understood that their [secretary general and floor leader] thoughts and statements are the indication of the DJP's course and situation. Whenever a problem arises, their response carries the effect of strong suggestion. They responsibly manage the party and the National Assembly: the secretary general is in charge of party affairs in general; and the floor leader is in charge of the operation of the National Assembly.

#### Kwon Chong-tal Who Has Integrated Three Powers of the Party

Although the secretary general is in fourth rank in terms of official ranks laid down in the party constitution--he comes after the president, representative member, and chairman of the Central Committee, he has actually "integrated" all important affairs and matters including problems in the National Assembly and in the party administration--personnel, finance, organization, and propaganda setup.

The position is the path or window between the party president and the party. Through this position, instructions and intentions of the president are reflected not only on the party dimension but also on the operation and management of political situations.

So far the representative member has changed twice, but the secretary general has changed only once. The stepping down of the predecessor of the current secretary general was only a measure taken to get public feelings under control at that time. Thus the position of secretary general, a political and core position, has been standardized as such. It is set down in the party constitution in such a way that the secretary general shall deal with party affairs in compliance with "instructions" of the representative member; however, realities are not so.



Viewing the circumstances from the point of view of the system, we can see that there have been considerable changes in the authority and function of the secretary general. In the early days in which Secretary General Kwon Chong-tal was in the office, those placed under the jurisdiction of the secretary general were: the office of party affairs (general affairs, organization, propaganda, youth, women, investigation, management, and training); the office of policy coordination; policy bureau; and the office of assemblymen. The fact that both the office of policy coordination which actually performs the policy function of the DJP and the office of assemblymen which controls the National Assemblymen who are affiliated with the party were placed under the secretary general signifies that the system has been set forth in such a way that the secretary general is authorized to integrate three powers (party affairs, policy, and National Assembly floor measures) of the party. After Secretary General Kwon Chong-tal stepped down, the office of policy coordination was placed under [the jurisdiction of] the chairman of the policy committee, and the office of assemblymen transferred to the floor leader's jurisdiction on the grounds that "power had been concentrated excessively." However, as a matter of fact, one can hardly see that the authority and position of Secretary General Kwon Ik-hyon, who succeeded to the position, have been weakened in comparison with those of his predecessor.

Such a phenomenon as this eloquently attests to the fact that the weight of the natural man is far greater than that of authority based on the system in ROK politics. Both National Assemblyman Kwon Chong-tal, who became the first secretary general, and National Assemblyman Kwon Ik-hyon who succeeded him, are graduates of the military academy and were born in Yongnam region. They have things in common in that they are both deeply trusted by the party president. Furthermore, both of them have had long experience as intelligence officers. But they are in contrast with each other in their personal character and political style.

National Assemblyman Kwon Chong-tal is a graduate of the 15th class of the military academy and was born in North Kyongsang Province (Andong). He was the director of the intelligence office of the Army Security Command during the transitional period following the 17 May. Then he was placed on the reserve list as a brigadier general. He played the most pivotal role in founding the "Legislative Assembly," organizing the DJP, selecting candidates for the 11th National Assembly, and in conducting the two elections which founded the Fifth Republic. There was once a time when the DJP was invariably referred to in association with National Assemblyman Kwon Chong-tal.

He is broadminded, openhearted, and progressive, we might say. He is clear-headed and says "yes" or "no" in a clear-cut way. He has a reputation for strong thrust and prompt decision.

He left the post of secretary general after 1 year and 4 months service because of [the exigencies caused by] the measures designed to get public feelings under control following the Yi Ch'or-hui and Chang Yong-cha incident that took place in May 1982. In May last year, he returned to the political front as chairman of the internal affairs committee of the National Assembly for around 10 months.

## Kwon Ik-hyon, Military Academy Classmate of the President

National Assemblyman Kwon Ik-hyon is the 11th class graduate of the military academy and once became the director of the intelligence office of the Security Command. In 1973 when he was an infantry regimental commander, he was placed on the reserve list (colonel) as a colonel. He tasted "the water of society" for 7 years. After leaving the military service, he became an advisor to the Yonhap Ch'olgan or United Steel Company and once served as managing director of the Samsung Precision [Machine] Company and made his debut in the political circles by taking up a small position called the assistant (vice minister level) to the office of the minister without portfolio after the 17 May. He was born in Sanch'ong, South Kyongsang Province. The first party position he took up was the chairman of the provincial party branch of South Kyongsang Province when he became a National Assemblyman of the 11th National Assembly. That position was not generally regarded as an important one. However, he suddenly emerged as prominent, like a comet, when reform intentions of the leading force went down the drain due to the Yi Ch'or-hui Chang Yong-cha incident. His emergence attests to his latest energy--an unrivaled one.

He is not only the party president's classmate of the military academy, but also is equipped with fine-thinking and emotional equilibrium. His keen political sense, it seems, was cultivated through the experience gained in his long service--while he was in the army--in the field of political intelligence and his desperate fight that followed "the Yun P'ir-yong Incident." He is a taciturn man: he avoids not only unnecessary remarks, but often necessary ones as well. The glitter of his piercing eyes in the fat and dark face gives an impression of a man "hard to deal with." After he took the office of secretary general, drastic revisions were made in an effort to redress the party operation system of the past, in the party constitution and party regulations to the effect that the system that was centralized around the secretary general was changed into a system based on respective independence of three powers. However, the DJP's system "centralized" around the secretary general has not changed and, on the contrary, we even hear criticism that the density of centralization has become greater.

He employs a completely secretive method in dealing with all things and makes thorough preparations for every deal.

One of the changes brought about after he became secretary general is, we may say, that "the radius" of [the authority of] assistant administrative officials has been shortened in the process of party operation. In the days prior to this change, two assistant administrative officials, Yi Sang-chaeh and Yun Sok-sun, who rendered distinguished meritorious services in making reforms, founding the party, and conducting elections, had constantly played important roles in the process of party operation and decision making. However, in March last year, on the occasion of the party congress, a core council called the Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee, in which the following eight officials sit: representative member, chairman of the Central Committee, secretary general, floor leader, chairman of the policy committee, cabinet ministers, director of the office of presidential secretariat, and spokesman, was established; and since then official changes have been brought about.



## Yi Sang-chae, Yun Sok-sun, Yi Chong-ch'an Stick to Their Bushes

Assistant Chief Yi Sang-chae, like Kwon Chong-tal, former secretary general, was once a staff member of the Security Command. Assistant Chief Yun Sok-sun, like Floor Leader Yi Chong-ch'an, was a staff member of the [Korean] Central Intelligence Agency. They [Yi Sang-chae, Yun Sok-sun, and Yi Chong-ch'an] made up a core group which led the party in the early days of inauguration. However, the team work among them changed as time went on.

Assistant Chief Yun, who was once bureau chief of the National Security Agency [the central intelligence group], became National Assemblyman of the 11th National Assembly, elected from the national constituency. Since then he has been in charge of liaison affairs between the party and the National Assembly all the time. Assistant Chief Yi has been engaged only in party affairs, refusing to go out to the National Assembly. In particular, he was one of the enthusiasts who was conferred with the 16 May National Award of the security sector while he was working for the Security Command. He is a domestic management worker of the party who has been in charge of the work of strengthening the foundation and establishing roots for the party, including personnel appointments and training.

He belongs to the doctrine-oriented type personality, and cherishes distinguished love toward the party. He himself chose the role of "PD" rather than the political style one. He has the reputation of a typical "party man" of the DJP.

These two assistant chiefs and Floor Leader Yi Chong-ch'an are the only party officials who have stayed in the party positions that they took at the time of the party founding. The fact that these three persons have maintained their positions of heavy responsibility, braving political changes of all hues that have taken place up to now, may be safely interpreted as a reflection of the party's need and the trust the president put in them.

Floor Leader Yi Chong-ch'an is a typical face in the 11th National Assembly. As Secretary General Kwon Ik-hyon did, he was engaged in non-political business for a considerable length of time after he left the military service; and then he transferred to politics. Floor Leader Yi, a 16th class graduate of the military academy, transferred to a position in the Central Intelligence Agency while serving with the colors. In 1970, he was placed on the reserve list as a major. After that, he continued to work for the Central Intelligence Agency and became the director of the office of planning and coordination of the Agency, which he left in 1980--it was the last position he held in the intelligence agency. So he is one of the personages who were "picked for promotion" during the days of the reform. He played an important role in the major reorganization of the Central Intelligence Agency following the 17 May. After he joined the Legislative Assembly, he was in charge of personnel appointment affairs together with core [party] members, including National Assemblyman Kwon Chong-tal, in the process of founding the DJP.

His mature political skill, which is not like that of a beginner, set forth excellent team work with secretary generals.

While we may label incumbent Secretary General Kwon Ik-hyon as a strong or medium conservative, we may call Floor Leader Yi a moderate progressive. Thus they are in a supplementary relationship with each other. Yi's strong point is that he has no rigidity or polarized prejudices, which those personnel who came from military circles are apt to display in the early days of their political careers.

His personal relationship with others is satisfactory. He is the type of man who tries to be tender whenever he faces a problem. He is also conspicuous in theories and power of practice. With such a competence and capability as cited above, he has been leading the 11th National Assembly successfully. Thus he has grown up as such a personage, a possible candidate for secretary general of the DJP, a position for which it is hard to find a pinch hitter in a short period of time.

In the non-governmental circles, too, there are many who regard him as one of the closest personages in the government party.

#### Yi Chae-hyong Who Rejected the "Figurehead" Role

The position of representative member, the second in the party rank, has been taken by the following persons successively and in order: Yi Chae-hyong, Chin Ui-chong, and Chong Nae-hyok--all National Assemblymen. In particular, Chin Ui-chong and Chong Nae-hyok are politicians of the older generation who have been spotlighted most since they joined the DJP. National Assemblyman Chin became chairman of the policy committee and the representative member; and then he was appointed prime minister. National Assemblyman Chong Nae-hyok became the speaker of the National Assembly and then the representative member of the party. Both of them were born in the Honam region--something in common to both. Thus we can understand [the policy] that the position of representative member, a symbol that stands against those outside the party, has been taken by personages from the civilian arena in principle, and that considerations have been taken so that the Honam region personages may be appointed to that position.

The position of representative member of the DJP in the days when Yi [Chae-hyong] was in it is in sharp contrast with that of the days after him.

Mr Yi is the highest class senior [National Assemblyman], who was elected six times, including the election in the constituent National Assembly, and is still active. Thanks to his long experience, he is not only familiar with the mathematical principle of politics, but is also a politician with an elder's disposition.

He was once the vice president of the Sinmin Party; but he felt discontented with the policy of that party and gave up politics. He was continuously away from the political circles for 10 years, from the early 1970's; then he joined the DJP. His statesmanship and his image of a non-government party personage are the factors sought by the DJP in its early days. He attempted to exercise the authority of the representative member as prescribed in the party constitution and, accordingly, it was hard for him to keep a satisfactory

relationship with the secretary general. At times, he was in strife with the secretary general. When Kwon Chong-tal was secretary general, he was once displeased with a personnel appointment document and refused to sign it, to the astonishment of those who were working under him. He put on the brakes for the "runaway" manner of the secretary general. His relationship with Secretary General Kwon Ik-hyon was not so cold as that with his predecessor; and yet it was not a peaceful and harmonious one either, the people around him said.

In March last year when key positions were reorganized, his departure from the post shook up the DJP, which had been ordinarily quiet, for a while.

Core party officials, including Secretary General Kwon Il-hyon, strained their nerves greatly to calm down the wrath of Representative Member Yi. In his farewell address made on 23 March last year, he said: "It was not so easy to make a non-government party a democratic one; but it was more difficult to make the government party democratic." He revealed in his speech, which drew the people's attention, the hardships and discontentment he had had during the 2 years in the office of representative member. He was one of those key officials of the party who felt the most active concern about the issue of democratization.

In a nutshell, he was the first and last representative member who refused to become a "figurehead" of the DJP.

Chin Ui-chong and Chong Nae-hyok (incumbent), who succeeded to the position, are the representative personages among those incumbent National Assemblymen who were born in the Honam region. Both of them are well-rounded and kind-hearted, as is spoken of them by the people.

#### Chin Ui-chong and Chong Nae-hyok Who Adapt Themselves to Dynamics

Mr Chin is a genius who graduated from the Kyonggi Middle School and the Keijo Imperial University, and who passed the higher civil service examination under the Japanese rule. He became a National Assemblyman for the first time in the Eighth National Assembly. His political career was not smooth, and he failed in the election as many as three times. After he failed in the election of the 10th National Assembly, he gave up his non-government party life and joined the cabinet as the minister of public health and social affairs. When he was in the non-government party (Sinmin Party), he belonged to the mid-course group personages who did not have conspicuous party positions and who were not in the party lineage. So his line of politics was also very moderate. He, who originally represented the constituency of the Puan-Koch'ang, North Cholla Province, had been an ordinary National Assemblyman of the DJP for more than 1 year before he was promoted to the position of the chairman of the policy committee, the fifth in the party position rank. And in 10 months after that, he was again promoted to the second rank position, the representative member; and many people were surprised at his promotion. Then a similar reaction occurred when he was appointed prime minister 5 months after he became the representative member. His promotion to prime minister has been regarded as an encouraging event in terms of strengthening the position of the DJP. He is still keeping the membership of the DJP and the post of National Assemblyman.

The incumbent representative member Chong is a graduate of the Military Academy of Japan. After the liberation, he was in a key position of the army before he was placed in the reserve list as a brigadier general. He became a National Assemblyman of the Konghwa or Republican Party for the first time in the Ninth National Assembly. However, in the old government, he failed to take a position in which he could exercise the power of influence in the party and the National Assembly. Then, during the process of disbanding the party, he became the account adjuster of the Republican Party. He is also moderate in character. He generally keeps silent regarding political problems. From the time of the Legislative Assembly, he began to be promoted: he became the vice speaker of the Legislative Assembly, the speaker of the 11th National Assembly, and then the representative member of the DJP consecutively. When he was appointed to the position of representative member, many people were surprised.

We may say that there is a political functional relationship between the following two facts: the representative member of the DJP, a position similar to that of the commander-in-chief of a political work site as prescribed in the party constitution, has failed to become the axis of the party; and that the members who led the reforms did not become the representative members. This in short represents a formula to accommodate realities employed by a political group which is organized and led by non-politicians. The group needed experienced personages who were familiar with "the geography" in order to secure the political leadership and to "cook" actual politics. Furthermore, the combination of the old and new reduces the frigidity that is felt around the stage on which beginners play the leading part.

Therefore, the representative member of the DJP has played, at least up to now, a transitional supplemental role following the inauguration days. Thus his position has been to take whatever area is left from what the radius of the political activities of the secretary general or the floor leader has covered.

Representative Member Yi Chae-hyon challenged such an actual dynamics and unavoidably caused friction with the secretary general. However, Representative Chin and Representative Chong adapted themselves to such a dynamics and have managed to maintain the relationship of peaceful coexistence.

#### Legal Authority of Representative Member Is Cut

The position of the representative member has a characteristic of representing the party in relation to outside the party, despite its rather belittled role. Thus it has been one of the important positions the DJP has been concerned about. However, since Representative Yi Chae-hyong left, the party has been straining its nerves in selecting the personage to fill the position in order to maintain peaceful personnel relations.

Representative Yi, an elder in the circle of party politics, carried great weight in regard to the relationship with non-government parties; thus it was not impossible for him to remain in the position. But things did not turn out that way.

In particular, in the DJP's reorganization launched in March last year, the major trend was that core party officials stayed in their posts since the reorganization was aimed at maintaining consistency in the management of the political situation. Only Un'gyong (Representative Yi's pen name) left his post.

Judging from the events cited above, we may say that emphasis of the basic personnel policy of the DJP is placed in harmony, and that it is possible to figure out what measures will be taken when the harmony is broken.

After Un'gyong left, the party constitution was amended to the effect that the authority of the representative member is cut. The amendment abolished the articles regarding the term of office (2 years) and the representative member's exceptional authority to recommend a personage, who is not a party recommendee, for the party recommendation as a candidate for election. Thus the legal status of the representative member was weakened by that much. On the other hand, the legal authority of the secretary general, which had been weakened once, was strengthened again in the amendment. A new article established to that effect is that in peace time, all agenda items to be submitted to the central executive committee or the standing committee of the central executive committee--the highest councils of the party--shall be submitted to the secretary general in advance. We may regard this article a symbolic one that indicates that the secretary general is the center forward of the party.

#### Emphasis Is on Stabilization and Peaceful Relations in Personnel Appointments in the National Assembly

In selecting personages for the speaker--the highest position--of the National Assembly, much consideration is being given to realistic circumstances. The incumbent Speaker Ch'ae Mun-sik and vice speaker Yun Kil-chung, who are moderate in their character, who were elected many times, and who carry the weight of character, succeeded Speaker Chong Nae-hyok. Their appointment to such important positions is indicative of the fact that the emphasis of personnel action is on stabilization and peaceful relations rather than reforms.

Speaker Ch'ae Mun-sik, a National Assemblyman who has been elected four times, consistently kept the mid-course line in politics when he was in the old Sinmin Party. He served as vice speaker in the Legislative Assembly together with Mr Chong Nae-hyok. During the first half of the 11th National Assembly, he served as vice speaker under Mr Chong; and in April last year, he became the speaker.

Vice Speaker Yun Kil-chung is one of the important personages in the political circles who has had long experience in politics since the constituent National Assembly. After serving in the Eighth National Assembly, he virtually retired from political circles. However, when the Fifth Republic was founded, he came out to the front line again. He was once a friend of Mr Cho Pong-am (punished with death in connection with the Chinbo or Progressive Party incident) and founded the Progressive Party. He was a reformist and was put in the penitentiary together with Mr Cho in connection with the incident. However, after the reformist force fell, he changed his political principle. The way he acts is to be characterized with his grave and serious attitude. The reason that the DJP

let Mr Yun join the party is that the DJP had intentions to seek the profile of a national political party by accepting not only conservative political forces but also other forces of various ideologies and principles. However, his career of progressive lineage has still not promoted his success in politics.

The issues of selecting personages for the chairmen group of the National Assembly and of the radius of action of the chairmen group--as in the case with the dynamic relationship between the representative member and the secretary general--may be associated with the dynamics between the chairmen group and the floor leader.

Floor Leader Yi Chong-ch'an has played the leading role in the operation of the National Assembly since the opening of the 11th National Assembly. All the political issues in the National Assembly have been coordinated through various channels centered around Floor Leader Yi Chong-ch'an as an axis.

Such [a phenomenon as] this may be attributable not only to Yi's position as the floor leader of the government party but also to the power of influence of Yi Chong-ch'an as a natural man. To cite an example of a little different case, when Yi Ki-pung, who was a man of influence when the Chayu or Liberal Party was the government party, was the speaker of the National Assembly (Third and Fourth National Assemblies), the politics in the National Assembly was exercised with him as the center. Thus we can understand that the influence arena [relationship between] the speaker and the floor leader is a relative one.

One of the characteristics of personnel actions in the DJP is that certain standards are applied to those positions which have some political characteristics, such as the core posts like the secretary general and floor leader and the representative posts like the representative member and the chairmen group of the National Assembly; whereas such standards are not applied to other party positions and the positions in the National Assembly. It seems, once in a while, that such political consideration as related to the scheme of operation of the political situation is not given even to a position regarded as very important, such as the chairman of the policy committee.

In the case of nearly 100 other party positions of the DJP, the primary [cause of personnel action] is political in-service training.

#### President Chon Tu-hwan's Strategy and Party Personnel Affairs

President Chon Tu-hwan, following the inauguration of the DJP, said: "Whoever takes a party position must have such experience as to become sufficiently competent for that position." Such a strategy as this has become a major policy consistently implemented in the DJP personnel affairs since the inauguration.

In other words, both beginners and old timers must receive training again in the sites of a new party and a new National Assembly. As many personnel as possible must earn experience in "all" of the important positions. Thus such political assets as the capability to continue the government of the DJP must be produced in great quantity. These are the intentions of his strategy, as interpreted by many.



Because the DJP was founded with the background of severance from the old age, the strategy of training a great number of personnel in a short period of time and in its early days may be excellent as a plan for the future, but may be in danger of effecting confusion that might be caused from errors in implementation and fraudulent strategem.

It seems that equality and rewards in personnel affairs helped to mitigate the feeling of estrangement on the part of party members which they often bump against in the early period of party inauguration, and also to prevent factionalization in the course of exercising the party power. To cite an example in the case of the Republican Party, although great was the mettle it had at the time of crossing the Han River bridge in the early period of its inauguration, the party in effect failed to transform the mettle into unity. One of the major reasons for this failure was that a nuclear division began to take place among some personages of influence. The factionalization within the government force gave in part an impression of "lively politics"; however, it not only weakened the party force due to the offset in power, but also brought about confusion in personnel affairs and utter disorder in handling political funds. Thus developments in the situation resulted in reducing most of the revolutionary commitments to a scrap of paper.

In the light of these preceding [failures], the rotation service system--a great principle--in the personnel [policy] of the DJP may be evaluated as a good policy, despite some side effects and losses to which it had to submit.

Thus the chairman of the policy committee (fifth rank), parliamentary minister (seventh rank), and the director of the office of presidential secretariat (eighth rank)--comparatively important positions in the party--changed often. Regarding chairmen of the municipal and provincial party committees, who are among the 26 members of the central executive committee, the highest council of the party, sweeping changes took place contrary to expectations whenever the change came. In the case of the chairmen of the standing committees in the National Assembly, whose term of office ended in April last year, only two of them stayed and all others changed. The chairman of the policy committee changed as many as four times and the average length of office at this post has been reduced to around 7 months. In order to maintain the consistency of the party policies, the holder of this office should not change often; however, [the situation surrounding this position] gave way to higher principles and other variables, such as "the mat incident" and the stepping down of the team of Secretary General Kwon Chong-tal, which acted on this position. Thus this position changed very often.

National Assemblyman Nam Chae-hui, first chairman of the policy committee, is now the chairman of the Seoul City Party Committee. He was a member of the Republican Party. He is a leading theorist in the DJP. Yi Chin-u, second chairman of the policy committee, was more a public prosecutor. He stepped down because of the "mat incident," the harshest incident the DJP had to face for the first time. He is now the chairman of the Committee for the Establishment of the National View of History--a do-nothing job. Na Sok-ho, third chairman of the policy committee, was once a member of a non-government party and is now the chairman of the South Cholla Province Party Committee. Chin

Ui-chong, fourth chairman of the policy committee, got quick promotions to become the party representative member and the prime minister consecutively. Chong Sok-mo, incumbent chairman of the policy committee, was promoted from the chairman of the South Ch'ungch'ong Province Party Committee. He has long experience in the police and internal affairs field. He is a steady coming man who is trying hard to get ahead on the basis of his political career earned in the 10th National Assembly.

The parliamentary minister is in a peculiar position in that he is a National Assemblyman of the government party and a member of the cabinet. He is often called a bridge in party politics. However, the image of a parliamentary minister so far established is not so clear. His primary role is the administrative one of relaying the people's suggestions and grievances received by the DJP to the government administration. He also meets, on behalf of the government, leaders of the government and non-government parties on courtesy occasions. Chong Chong-t'aek, first parliamentary minister, was once provincial governor, director of the office of labor, and the minister of agriculture and fishery affairs. He showed his competence in the policy field on the basis of his career experience in the government. O Se-ung, second parliamentary minister, served as a National Assemblyman of the Sinmin Party in the Eighth, Ninth, and 10th National Assemblies. With the weight of that career, he had wide contacts with the non-government party circles and the civilian circles in general. Yi Tae-sop, incumbent parliamentary minister, is a man of gen He graduated from the Kyonggi High School, the School of Engineering of Seoul National University, and the MIT of the United States. He also plays a role in the special envoy diplomacy.

#### Successive Spokesmen Are All From Press Circles

The position of director of the office of presidential secretariat, like that of the chairman of the policy committee, is one of the important party positions which changed most frequently. Although it was mostly beginners in politics who were appointed to this position, the party rank of the position is high. This position was set up at the end of 1981; the establishment of this position was related to the strengthening of the system of the party government by immediate direction of the party president, we might say. The director of the office of presidential secretariat is primarily in charge of the liaison between the Ch'ongwadae and the party. The power of influence is not to be employed in this position. This position was taken successively by: Mr Yi Son-ki (assembly floor), Yi Han-tong, Nam Chae-tu, Sim Sang-u, and Ho Ch'ong-il--all National Assemblymen. All of them, except Mr Yi Son-ki, are those National Assemblymen who were elected for the first time. National Assemblyman Ho Ch'ong-il, the incumbent, was promoted from among those of the national constituency for the first time.

Director Ho is a graduate of the 20th class of the military academy and a young National Assemblyman who was elected for the first time. But he has a reputation of being sharp-witted and a man of organized thinking.

The party spokesman is next to the assistant administrator in terms of the party rank sequence. This post plays a very important role in terms of the



responsibility of the position. It was taken successively by National Assemblymen Pak Kyong-sok, Pong Tu-wan, and Kim Yong-t'ae. All of them once worked in the press circles. National Assemblyman Pak was once the director of the political department of the TONGA ILBO [Company]. He is a calm and collected man and logical in his thinking. National Assemblyman Pong, who was once an anchor man of the Tongyang Broadcasting Station, has a high sense of humor and peaceful personnel relations--his strong points. He has been promoted to chairman of the foreign affairs committee of the National Assembly.

Kim Yong-t'ae, incumbent spokesman, was once the director of the editorial bureau of the CHOSON ILBO [Company]. He has a reputation of being a man of insight with a keen sense of politics. In May 1982 when the reorganization came, he took his position when Kwon Ik-hyon took the position of secretary general. His strength has increased conspicuously since then.

The post of director of the office of policy coordination, the rank next to the spokesman, is an important one in that it is the lying-in room of the party policies. In its early days, National Assemblyman Pae Song-tong, who was once a Seoul National University professor (political science), took the office; and National Assemblyman Pak Hyon-t'ae succeeded him and has been in the office since then. Director Pak, who once worked for the HAN'GUK ILBO, is a man of knowledge and sense of reality and an activist.

#### National Assemblymen Who Left Party Positions at the Time of May Incident Are Back

Chairman of the municipal and provincial party committees and chairmen of the standing committees who are on-the-spot responsible men in the operation of the National Assembly--all of them are members of the Central Executive Committee--have undergone sweeping changes whenever the changes came to them. This fact brings into relief the characteristics of personnel affairs of the DJP. Thanks to such unprecedented changes as these, more than 50 National Assemblymen have been appointed to those middle rank important positions of the two types cited above one after another since the founding of the party. This figure--50--corresponds to one-third of the total number of National Assemblymen of the DJP. It seems that such developments as these have been brought about through a fundamental plan of training a political force in a short period of time and by means of considerations designed to mitigate the feeling of estrangement which beginners often come to face.

Those who were at the posts of 10 municipal and provincial responsible men at the election time all changed, except for National Assemblyman Kim Yong-t'ae of North Kyongsang Province, after the election ended. And, on the second anniversary of the party founding last year, all of those municipal and provincial responsible men changed. On that occasion, there were many observations within the party about the scale of the forthcoming changes--some said "minor," some said "medium" and some said "major"--; however, the result came utterly contrary to the expectations.

Chairman of the standing committees of the National Assembly, too, were expected to change in part in March last year when their 2-year term ended. However, the chairmen of 11 standing committees changed. Chairman Yi Chong-ch'an

of the steering committee and Chairman Kim Yong-son of the national defense committee did not change. Among the changes, chairmen Han Pyong-ch'ae and Pae Myong-kuk were transferred to other committees.

The appointment of Kwon Chong-tal, former secretary general, as chairman of the home affairs committee has recently drawn the attention of the political circles. Many people have become curious to know the meaning of that change, which came 10 months after he left the nucleus position of the party. It may be appropriate to regard as "a downgrading" either in the form or in the substance for one who was formerly the secretary general of the DJP to become the chairman of a standing committee of the National Assembly. However, if we review the circumstances in which he had to step down in the sequel of the Chang Yong-cha incident, we can understand that this measure signifies the reinstatement of trust and the vindication of his honor. Therefore, there was even an observation that such an unprecedented measure should be regarded, in the light of the president's style of personnel action, rather as "solicitude" for National Assemblyman Kwon, who is a beginner while being a big figure in politics, than as "a downgrading."

Furthermore, political implications [of that measure] became even richer when those National Assemblymen who left party positions, together with National Assemblymen Kwon, at the time of the May incident in 1982, came back one after another. National Assemblyman Pong Tu-wan (then spokesman) became the chairman of the foreign affairs committee; National Assemblymen Yi Han-tong (then the director of the office of presidential secretariat) became the chairman of the Kyonggi Province Party Committee; National Assemblyman Chong Chong-t'aek (then parliamentary minister) became the chairman of the North Ch'ungch'ong Province Party Committee; and National Assemblyman Na Sok-ho (then the chairman of the policy committee) was appointed chairman of the South Cholla Province Party Committee.

#### Number of Those National Assemblymen Who Became Ministers or Vice Ministers Exceeds Ten

The number of those National Assemblymen of the DJP who found their way into the ranks of minister or vice minister of the government after the founding of the party has now reached more than 10. This is closely related to the expansion of the role of the DJP. In particular, when Chin Ui-chong became the prime minister, [analyses of the development] went so far as to refer to the party-party relationship, not to mention the circumstances of party administration.

As of now, those who entered the ranks of minister and above in the government are three: Chin Ui-chong (prime minister); Kim Chong-rye (minister of public health and social affairs); and Yi Tae-sop (parliamentary minister). Those at the vice minister level are four: Chong Son-ho (physical education); Chong Hui-ch'ae (education); Yi Ch'un-ku (home affairs); and Kang Ch'ang-hui (director of the office of prime minister's secretariat). Chong Hui-t'aek (director of the office of audit and inspection), Chong Sun-tok (chief secretary in charge of political affairs in Ch'ongwadae), and Yi Hon-ki (vice minister of public health and social affairs) resigned as National Assemblymen when they joined the administrative branch of the government.

National Assemblyman Na Ung-pae from the national constituency gave up his National Assemblymanship when he was appointed minister of finance. But only 4 months after he took office he stepped down, taking responsibility in connection with the political settlement of the Chang Yong-cha incident. From that time on, a criterion has been set up to the effect that the office of National Assemblyman shall be kept even when a National Assemblyman gets a position in the administrative branch of the government, unless there are unavoidable circumstances.

Those DJP National Assemblymen who got positions in the administrative branch of the government and who are still keeping their National Assemblymanship are a sort of "personnel dispatched" from the DJP; and even those who gave up their National Assemblymanship will be able to "return to their units." Among them, in the case of Chong Sun-tok, chief secretary in charge of political affairs [in the Ch'ongwadae], word is out that he will run from a local constituency in the coming general election--a rumor that is drawing the people's attention. He is a graduate of the 16th class of the Military Academy and ran from the national constituency in the 11th National Assembly election. He is calm and has a reputation of being a man of keen judgment.

National Assemblymen Ch'oe Yong-ch'ol and Kim Sil from the local constituency and National Assemblyman Pak T'ae-chun and Pak Tong-chin from the national constituency have so far failed to take important positions in the party. However, they have attracted attention because of their political strong points displayed in their strength, competence, and potential capacities.

National Assemblyman Ch'oe Yong-ch'ol, who was once in the press circles, became National Assemblyman in his 30's and has been elected 3 times. His case is that he has somehow failed to find an opportunity despite his competence. His thinking is very logical; and he is excellent in speech making, a political weapon, especially in speaking in public before the mass of people. National Assemblyman Kim Sik, a graduate of the 11th class of the military academy, is reasonable in thinking and moderate in manner. Although he came from the military circles, he has a reputation for high political adaptability. He was once the chairman of the South Cholla Province Party Committee and is currently the chairman of the agriculture and fishery committee. National Assemblyman Pak T'ae-chun is a graduate of the sixth class of the military academy. He was the director of the office of the secretariat of the chairman of the Supreme Council at the time of the 16 May [Revolution]. Although he is a veteran, he has been elected only once and became a National Assemblyman belatedly after going through the positions of the highest managers of the Taehan Tungsten and the P'ohang Iron Manufacturing Companies. National Assemblyman Pak Tong-chin became a National Assemblyman for the first time in the 11th National Assembly, after he quit the foreign minister's post. He has a reputation of being a man of faith.

National Assemblyman Pak T'ae-chun became and is the vice chairman of the central committee after serving as the chairman of the finance committee of the National Assembly. National Assemblyman Pak Tong-chin is now the chairman of the committee for the peaceful unification--a do-nothing post--of the DJP; prior to this, he was the chairman of the foreign affairs committee.

Young National Assemblyman Sim Myong-po, Ho Ch'ong-il, Kim Chong-ho, Yi Tae-sun, and Yi Ch'i-ho, too, have been recognized as men of potential political capacities. And in the cases of National Assemblymen Pae Myong-kuk, O Han-ku, and Chong Son-ho, there is a possibility for them to get ahead in their careers in terms of some other aspects.

#### Those From the Military, Educational, and Former Political Circles Are Dominant

A distribution of the National Assemblymen of the DJP according to the circles from which they came is as follows: educational circle, 24; former Republican Party or the Yujong Club, 24; military circles, 23; business, 18; government officials, 17; former non-government party circles, 13; press circles, 12; legal profession, 11; and social organizations and other, 17. This distribution is made according to the criteria arbitrarily set forth by the author of this article; and considerations are emphatically given to the major career and the promotion backgrounds of each National Assemblyman.

Those who came from the educational and business circles are in relatively greater number. Those from the educational circles were mostly university professors or government officials who were engaged in educational administration. Among those from business circles, there is none in the big businessman class; but rather a great number of them are quite rich.

Educational circles represent a group of people who respect high moral principles and integrity; therefore, we can understand that educational circle personages were preferred in the days of the new republic's inauguration. The advancement of those personages from the business circles is closely related to the active efforts made to effect a system in which National Assemblymen can concurrently hold positions in the business circles. Under the former system of the National Assembly, the holding of concurrent positions was allowed only for exceptional cases. However, in the 11th National Assembly, holding of concurrent positions was allowed as much as possible; thus there were a great number of company-president National Assemblymen.

However, in a series of selections of personnel designed to fill the important positions of the party and the National Assembly following the election, personages of the educational circles and business circles were excluded in great numbers, whereas personages from the military circles and former government and non-government parties circles were regarded as more important, as indicated by the conspicuous selection tendency.

To distribute those personages who were appointed to the positions of the chairmen of municipal or provincial party committees, chairmen of standing committees of the National Assembly, cabinet ministers of the government, or higher, according to the circles from which they came: those from the military circles are 15: Yi Chong-ch'an, Kim Yong-son, Yi Pom-chun, Chong Son-ho, Ch'on Yong-song, Yang Ch'ang-sik, Kim Sik, Kwon Chong-tal, O Han-kuk, Pae Myong-kuk, Pak Ik-chu, Kwon Ik-hyon, Yi Ch'un-ku, Ho Ch'ong-il, and Kang Ch'ang-hui; those from former political circles are 20: Kim Chong-rye, Yun Kil-chung, Han Pyong-ch'ae, O Se-ung, Chin Ui-chong, Na Sok-ho, Pak Kwan-hum, Ch'ae Mun-sik, Yi Chae-hyong, An Pyong-kyu (cited up to here are former

non-government party circles), Nam Chae-hui, Yi Tae-sop, Kim Suk-hyon, Chong Tong-song, Yi Hae-won, Chong Sok-mo, Yi Sang-ik, Ch'oe Yong-ch'ol, Yu Kyong-hyon, and Chong Nae-hyok (cited up to here are former government party circles). Those who were formerly government officials (including those who came from state-operated business corporations) are 8: Chong Chong-t'aek, Im Pang-hyon, Hwang In-song, Pak Tong-chin, Yun Sok-sun, Kim Chong-ho, Chong Chae-ch'ol, and Pak T'ae-chun. Those from the press circles are 7: Kimg Yong-t'ae, Pong Tu-wan, Sim Myong-po, Nam Chae-tu, Sim Sang-u, Pak Kyong-sok, and Pak Hyon-t'ae. Those from the educational circles are 6: Yi Se-ki, Ku Yong-hyon, Yi Hung-su, Chang Song-man, Pae Song-tong, and Chong Hui-ch'ae. Those from the legal profession circles are: Yi Han-tong, Yi Chin-u, and Chong Hui-t'aek. From the business circles is 1: Wang Sang-un.

As for the reason that only one from the business circles belongs to the distribution category personage cited above, we may not call this "estrangement," because there are some circumstances that cause this situation. For example, if party posts or National Assembly posts are given to those business corporation presidents National Assemblyman or executive National Assemblymen, they would be charged with triple burdens.

#### Priority Is Given to Local Constituency National Assemblymen in Assigning Important Positions of the Party and National Assembly

In terms of [the distribution among the National Assemblymen] from the local constituencies and the national constituency, the organization of the party positions and assembly floor posts has been centered around those from the local constituencies. This trend has become more conspicuous since the latter half of the term of the 11th National Assembly. All of the six top party positions are taken by those National Assemblymen from the local constituencies. Only 5 of the 26 members of the central executive committee are National Assemblymen from the national constituency. All of the 13 chairmen of the standing committees of the National Assembly are from the local constituencies. As far as "the positions" are concerned, National Assemblymen from the national constituency are nothing but a supplementary entity. To describe this [phenomenon] from a different point of view, such a phenomenon as this is indicative of the durability of National Assemblymen from local constituencies and the single term assemblymanship of National Assemblymen from the national constituency. On the other hand, we may call this a tacit principle or urge that the leadership of the party and the National Assembly should be put in the hands of those representatives elected directly from local constituencies, whereas those National Assemblymen from the national constituency should be faithful in serving the functional roles.

Such a tendency of regarding those from local constituencies as important is bringing into relief the feeling of helplessness of those National Assemblymen from the national constituency.

As for the appointments to important positions based on the status [of the party], it is noteworthy that those who came from the former Sinmin Party or former non-government parties were given a specially warm reception. Only 10 of the 24 National Assemblymen from the former government party, including the Republican Party and the Yujong Club, were appointed, whereas all of the

13, except for Cho Chong-ho, Kim Chong-ki, and Kim Ki-ch'ol, National Assemblymen from the former non-government party circles were appointed. This above all is a concrete expression of the stand of rejecting the Yusin regime and, on the other hand, a positive expression of the intention of seeking harmony.

#### Scarcity of Capable Men Is Weak Point but Organization Is Strong

There is no vein of personages or faction in the DJP yet. A faction or lineage, which has often been seen in the politics of the past, is an absolute taboo there. Therefore, there is no intermediate boss or follower there either. President Chon Tu-hwan has [always] emphasized that factional confrontations in the political circles of the past brought about political strife, people's mistrust in politics, and political crises. The first thing to which the DJP National Assemblymen and those who are in the important positions of the DJP should take heed in this very instruction. In particular, this applies to the cases of Secretary General Kwon Ik-hyon and Floor Leader Yi Chong-ch'an. Although they have an intimate relationship [with some of their men] based on personal preference, the circles from which they came, the districts from which they came, or the schools from which they graduated, there is very little league-like connection there.

In the DJP, there are not yet such things as who is whose direct follower, or who is whose boss--callings often heard in the political society. However, it is rather hard to jump to the hasty conclusion that this state of circumstances would continue to prevail in view of the fact that such human relationships as those of interests, of closeness and estrangement, and of love and hatred are apt to accumulate as time goes on. Personages in some political quarters still hold an affirmative view regarding the factional operation [of a party], such as that of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan. However, many hold in general the negative view regarding the usefulness of factions. Furthermore, it is doubtful that ROK politics would ever reach the standard and atmosphere of Japanese politics, judging from the "temperament" of ROK politics.

In fact, as things stand now, leaders of the government party are exercising keen caution against the possible emergence of factions in view of the harmful effects of factions in the past. However, it would be hard for anyone to have a self-confident prospect [regarding this issue], because the accumulation of human relationships, the divergence in leadership, and intraparty competitions are the factors that may bring about factions.

At present, in the DJP, there are 151 National Assemblymen, including 90 from local constituencies and 61 from the national constituency. Such a great number of National Assemblymen is by no means a number for a single party to manage to control. However, on the other hand, it is pointed out that there is the scarcity of capable men, as a matter of fact.

Emergence of a political resource requires many conditions. It above all requires time and the support and respect from many. From such a viewpoint as this, it is more than natural for the DJP to experience the scarcity of politically capable personages, because the DJP has only a 3-odd year history, and those past personages of prominence were totally excluded from the inauguration of the DJP. The circumstances with the newly born non-government parties are the same.



Such a situation as this represents a dark side of the history of a constitutional government that had frequent interruptions, the only possible interpretation. Bringing up leadership is a stupendous task assigned to the DJP.

While the scarcity of capable men is a weak point of the DJP, organization and training are its strong points.

It is an observation common to both within the party and outside the party that the DJP is "definitely" different from any government parties or other parties of the past. The organization of the DJP holds a million men party membership. Those National Assemblymen of the DJP who have experienced the political party life of the past hold this view, while those National Assemblymen of non-government parties who are exercising caution against the DJP make the same observation. The consensus of views is that [the DJP's] organizational activities are vigorous and solid in their substance.

#### Million Men Party Membership and the 3-3 Strategy

The figure of 1 million members of the DJP is computed at the rate of 5 percent of the total number of eligible voters. When this 5 percent rate is made more "picked" and nuclear divisions take place by means of the 3-3 strategy on the basis of the more "picked" parent body, [what the party is] planning is that the north-south unification in the long run, and all the coming elections in the short run, will be successfully achieved. In other words, if we put the total number of voters at 20,000,000, when the 1 million man organization carries out the expanded production by means of the 3-3 strategy, 3,000,000 supporters will be secured in the first period and 9,000,000 in the second period, and a 40 to 50 percent polling rate will be registered in the election, as the calculation goes. Indicative of "the grandiosity" of this strategy is the fact that the DJP obtained a 98 percent election rate with the polling rate of less than 40 percent in the recent election.

The very problem of strengthening organization is the problem about which the DJP has been concerned most and for which the DJP has made tremendous efforts since its inauguration. As soon as the election ended, the party carried out a drastic operation to deal with those problems exposed during the grand event. The party accepted en bloc resignation from 5,000 key party position holders in local party organizations. Thus 79 percent of important positions of secretariats and 71 percent of the guidance chiefs (responsible men in ups and myons) were changed. Those important position holders in the central party headquarters did their best with all their might, even if they had to walk through sea and fire, for any activities related to "organization" and "training." A typical personage among them was Assistant Administrative Chief Yi Sang-chae. He was the first class meritorious retainer in the days of party inauguration, who was in charge of organization and training at his best, to the extent that people called him a man who only knows his family and the party. His standing theory is that the party organization should be manned with elites and be operated for 365 days a year: in preparation for the unification [of Korea]; in order to outrival the Workers Party of the North Korean puppets; in order to proliferate the cause of reforms of the Fifth Republic; and in order to win in the elections without fail.

"The nervous system" of the organization of the DJP is as follows: central party headquarters--National Assemblymen (151)--central committee members (3,000)--representatives of the provincial party committees (2,500)--representatives of local party committees (3,000)--guidance chiefs (responsible men of the up, myon, and dong units: 35,000)--assistant guidance chiefs (responsible men of polling districts: 12,000)--activity chiefs (responsible men of ri and tong units: 70,000)--responsible members of the party (responsible men of chajayon [word unintelligible] villages and pan units: 270,000; activity members of the party: 700,000).

The local organizations, which are the bottom of the party, are constantly being inspected in secret by the key staff members of the central party and provincial party headquarters. The key staff members visit by themselves the registered members of local party branches and check out whether they are officially holding party membership and whether they are receiving the training of local party branches. In the past, in both government parties and non-government parties, fictitious membership figures were used for the purpose of propaganda directed outside the party or only for the purpose of reporting to the party headquarters. But the DJP has a reputation that the case of the DJP is different from that which prevailed in the past.

Emphasis of the DJP placed on organization has been indicated well in the fact that 28 percent of the party budget during the past year (2,400,000,000 won) was spent for the management of local organizations. The personnel expenses for the 500 key secretariat personnel of the central party and local party headquarters have reached 2,400,000,000 won, too.

The party "nerves" have been strained even for balancing, in organization, the men-women distribution and the age level distribution in the process of managing the party with elites and of expanding the bottom of the party. At present, among the 1 million members: men are 60 percent, women 40 percent; and as for the age level distribution: below the age of 40, 70 percent; above the age of 40, 30 percent.

Furthermore, the leading elements of the 3,000 men membership of the central committee are prominent personages and opinion leaders of local districts throughout the country. They generally belong to a higher class in terms of financial power, education, and career.

8,900,000,000 Won Raised and 8,700,000,000 Won Spent Last Year

Responsible men of the DJP often use the expression of "self-rotation and self-support." It means that they must make the party get on its own feet without depending on outside assistance. They diagnose that the failure in getting on their feet has been one of the major reasons, in all cases, for political parties to have been shortlived in the political circles of the past. They assert that depending on outside assistance in raising political funds and getting the government authority's assistance in elections have hastened the early days of a government party.

From such a point of view as this, the make-all-members-pay principle is being adhered to energetically. The DJP set the lowest membership fee at the



200-won level for rank-and-file members and has been urging that the 200-won membership fee be collected even at the expense of 300-won collection expenditures.

At first sight, it looks like a losing business. But the participation consciousness of those who collect and of those who pay after all heightens the cohesiveness of organization; and when the party members pay their dues, their attachment to the party is formed--as the reasoning goes.

The DJP has scored a conspicuous success in making political funds public and in getting on its own feet financially. The making public of political funds has now become a system through [the enforcement of] the political funds law. In a nutshell, it is a system under which funds are raised in public and spent in public. In compliance with the system, for both the government and non-government parties, the major portion of political funds comes from the following sources, which are to be made public: party membership fee, supporters' donation, subsidies from the national treasury, and trust funds.

During the past year, the DJP raised a total of 8,900,000,000 won and spent 8,700,000,000 won. This figure represents 90 percent of the total political funds spent in public by both the government and non-government parties last year. Needless to say, this figure only indicates the amount of money raised and spent at the level of the central party headquarters. We cannot say that that represents the total amount of political funds transacted during the past year. Those political funds transacted at the level of individuals--apart from the central party--can never be figured out.

In any case, the fact that the DJP is spending 90 percent of the total political funds tells us that the difference between the government party and non-government parties is particularly great in [their capability of] raising political funds.

In other fields of politics, the difference between the government and non-government parties is not that great. For example, the distribution of National Assembly seats is that the government party has 54 and the non-government parties have 46. The difference between the political funds of the government party and those of the non-government parties comes from the fact that the government party has a tremendous advantage in the aspect of raising funds.

While the financial independence rate of the non-government parties remains less than 50 percent, that of the DJP reached 82 percent last year already. A breakdown of the total of the 8,900,000,000-won fund raised is as follows: membership fees paid by the members of the party, 5,300,000,000 won (59 percent); supporters funds raised from the party supporters association, 2,000,000,000 won (23 percent). Thus the total amount of funds raised by the party itself is 7,300,000,000 won, whereas the funds raised by means of outside assistance are: subsidies from the national treasury, 440,000,000 won; and the trust funds, 550,000,000 won--the percentage of the funds raised by means of outside assistance is only 11 percent. Such a fund raising situation as this stands out in sharp contrast to that of the non-government parties, which mainly depend on outside assistance, such as subsidies from the national treasury and trust funds.

The DJP's money is disbursed as follows: the operational expense of local party committees, 28 percent (2,400,000,000 won); personnel expense, 28 percent (2,400,000,000 won); the training expenses for party members, 19 percent (1,700,000,000 won).

The non-government parties have considerable concern about the fact that political funds are concentrated in the DJP. In particular, they assert that such an unbalance as this must be straightened out in order to bring about balanced development of party politics and to secure fair chances for all.

Since the time when the DJP started to play the leading role in the new era, there have been successes in the field of controlling political funds, which had always been a controversial one before that. This was possible thanks to the determination that any pipes other than those designated by the law would not be touched. Meanwhile, an imminent task is to pass peacefully the election period in which the demand for political funds increases tremendously.

On the other hand, it is still early to say that strong roots have been taken by the system of raising political funds which has been sustained by the new value outlook of service and sacrifice rendered without any benefit in return for supporting donation or membership fees.

As Government Party Is Organization, so Non-Government Party Is Caprice

One of the most stupendous tasks of the DJP is the concentrated training of 1,000,000 organizing members. At the central political training institute located at Karak-tong, Songdong-ku, Seoul, and at the frontline local party committees, [all members], from the top rank, including National Assemblymen, to the bottom rank, are being educated the year round. In particular, the political training of the DJP is thoroughgoing to the extent that people often say that those who come to actual work sites after the training in the central arena "look like entirely different people."

The political training in the central arena began immediately after the general election which was held on 25 March 1981. As of the end of 1983, 100,000 key officials of above the rank of activity chief (responsible men of the ri and tong units) were trained; and presently they are receiving the second repeated training. A characteristic of the training at the central arena is that trainees go through 1 night 2 day to 4 night 5 day training schedules. In other words, it is not a training of the implanting type in classrooms; it is designed to form comradeship among trainees while living--sleeping and eating--in the same quarters. When they come to the training institute, trainees get their uniforms.

In winter, trainees get up at 6:30 in the morning and have morning exercise and jogging, while it is still dark, listening to the national anthem. Then lectures and discussion sessions follow till 11 o'clock at night. Emphases of lectures are placed on the five major doctrines of the party, including democracy, nation, welfare, justice, and unification, how to practice the doctrines, and the philosophy and guidance doctrines of the party president. The dosa level lecturers and theorists of the party are being mobilized for training

lectures. Frequently mobilized are National Assemblymen Chong Ch'ang-hwa, Yi Yong-il, Sin Sang-ch'o, Nam Chae-hui, Song Chi-yong, Pae Song-tong, Kim Chong-in, Ch'oe Ch'ang-kyu, Kwak Chong-hyon, and Pak Kyong-sok. The training lecture opening ceremony is attended by the representative member, and the closing ceremony is attended by the secretary general.

The political training institute of the DJP is vacant of trainees for only around 5 weeks a year: year-end, new year's holidays, autumn festival, and very cold and very hot periods. Training is on for 47 of the 52 weeks of the year.

Frontline core party members, such as guidance chiefs and activity chiefs, get 4 day 5 night concentrated training, whereas key officials, such as activist party members, get 2 night 3 day concentrated training.

The central political training institute of the DJP, which was originally the training institute of the Republican Party, was greatly expanded and renovated in its facilities at the end of 1982 at the expense of 3,600,000,000 won. Its accommodation capacity per training session was tripled from 400 to 1300 men. The DJP spends as much as 1,700,000,000 won for political training of its members; this is the third major expense item of the DJP, ranking next to the local party operation expense and the personnel expense. Such a scale and enthusiasm as this cannot even be dreamed of by the non-government parties; and it is suggestive of the phrase "As the government party is organization, so the non-government parties are caprices."

Apart from the training in the central arena, in the local districts, 1 day training (at actual sites) is being given all the year round to responsible party members and members of lower rank under the supervision of chairmen of local party committees, incumbent National Assemblymen. Since the determination and atmosphere in the central arena are as described above, [the training in local districts] cannot be conducted in the "as one thinks fit" manner. National Assemblymen of the DJP visit their [constituency] districts often by force [of circumstances]. They are supposed to be engaged in local district activities for 100 days a year as a matter of duty. And another reason is that the party places emphasis on the actual site training. Perhaps one of the most important tasks assigned by the DJP to its National Assemblymen is the actual site training cited above. A project, designed to increase the effect of training, of establishing branches of the central institute in the Honam and Yongnam regions is under consideration.

The reason is that although the training in the central training institute is effective, the accommodation capacity of the institute is low.

In July last year, the DJP held a large-scale political conference called "a discipline convention of lifetime comrades" on Mt Togyu in Muju. "A lifetime comrade" is a term being used within the DJP; it means a member of the DJP. A camping convention, attended by as many as 4,000 people, surprised the non-government parties. Soon after this convention, there came a rumor about an early general election. Around that time, National Assemblymen of the non-government parties inclined their heads saying that there must be some reason for the fact that the DJP suddenly stepped up the training of its members and went the length of holding such a large-scale convention for unity. In any

event, it is a fact that the large-scale political training being launched persistently by the DJP is creating a new wind in the political atmosphere, in the light of the fact that the Republican Party, which started the collective political training for the first time, could train only 70,000 people in the period of 16 years.

#### DJP-Oriented Atmosphere and 'Uneasy Stability'

Many regard the current political stability as "an uneasy stability" and evaluate the achievements the DJP has made since its inauguration as a temporary entity. However, it is a fact that the DJP has overcome considerably the uneasiness in politics and the insecurity of the political situation.

One of the achievements worthy of close attention, if any, among the achievements of the DJP made since 1981 when the DJP had a start as the government party of the Fifth Republic, would be its creation of the atmosphere of clean politics.

With a caution against the black curtains behind the political funds of the government parties in the past, the DJP has made efforts to establish political ethics by means of [effecting a system of] making political funds public and of eliminating favoritism, despite some side effects [of those measures]. Thus a so-called DJP-oriented atmosphere, which suppresses deviation of political personages in the political circles to a certain extent, has been formed. The prevailing situation is that not only the DJP members but also non-government party members are conscious of the discipline of clean politics set forth by the DJP.

Perhaps it may be no exaggeration to say that the realization of clean politics is the most important factor that backs up the justness of the government of the DJP and is an alpha of the politics of the DJP.

The atmosphere [of the relations] between the government party and non-government parties has been improved greatly. Compared to the relations between the government party and non-government parties developed since the Yusin, the present situation is very satisfactory. They [the government party and non-government parties] have now gotten out of the vicious cycle of argument for argument's sake and absolute rejections of the past. Politics now tends to move along the dimension of substances rather than the dimension of regimes or of the confrontation between establishments. From the people's point of view, no one wants politics to become a hollow power struggle.

The fact that both the government party and the non-government parties respect the rule of dialogue is encouraging in that it is indicative of the possibility of political development.

Furthermore, the DJP has overstretched itself in order to secure its domain as the government party--energetically at times or meticulously at times. In setting forth the party's relations with the administrative branch of the government, former secretary general Kwon Chong-tal and incumbent secretary general Kwon Ik-hyon employed a different scale and different style from each other; but both of them greatly contributed to strengthening the position of

of the DJP. In terms of the style, former secretary general Kwon Chong-tal acted openly and with mettle, whereas incumbent secretary general Kwon Ik-hyon dropped his voice and kept cool lest he should be noticed from outside, as for the differences between the two. Thus the theory of party superiority of early days was replaced with the theory of party responsibility. The high-handed declaration that "National Assemblymen are delegates of the party" was also withdrawn. However, the trend to that effect still remains. The party's discipline over its National Assemblymen has not been eased whatsoever.

Under the influence of the theory of party superiority, the position of the National Assembly has been strengthened somewhat. Those spiteful remarks such as that the National Assembly is a waiting maid of the administrative branch of the government, or that baby sitting National Assemblymen have not been discarded completely; however, they are not heard often any more.

The DJP's theory of party superiority turned on its charm to many of those who were molested by the running-alone self-righteousness of the administrative branch of the government in the past. Even in the non-government party circles, many now assert that only when the government party is strong, can the non-government party become strong.

However, the capacities of political parties and the parliament in our country are small. The achievements of the DJP, too, were made within that small capacity. Therefore, they are simply that much restrictive.

In short, the observation that the stability of political situation is "an uneasy stability" is due to the situation in which the government party and the non-government parties of today are not capable of keeping all the political phenomena in this country under control.

#### Weakness Is Exposed at the Time of Kim Yong-sam's Fasting Incident

When we examine the actual conditions of the political stability accomplished by the DJP, we can understand that the stability is essentially weak because it has been established in line with the relations with the non-government parties, which are nothing but weak ones.

The weakness was verified last summer when the incident of the fasting of Kim Yong-sam, who was formerly the president of the Sinmin Party, came about.

Whether or not the ban on political activities is lifted, it is indisputable that the group of personages whose political activities are prohibited should be regarded as an important variable in actual politics. However, the DJP has failed so far to show its capability of keeping the important variable under control. Therefore, regardless of the size of the lift of the ban on political activities, the DJP cannot boastfully claim that it has accomplished sufficient stability, unless it has come to control such third political realities as these.

In such a sense as this, when we consider things done so far and things to be done from now on by the DJP, we may say that the grade of its accomplishment is not so high.

There is a criticism that since its inauguration, the DJP has been so engrossed in keeping "a quiet political situation" that it has reduced and suppressed functions of the party and the parliament and has withheld its intentions of pushing reforms.

Needless to say, in order to take the leadership in the politics of the state in both name and reality, the party and the National Assembly must carry out the function of widely and sufficiently converging the will of the people. However, it is a fact that the party and the National Assembly, in many cases, have given a cold shoulder to important problems arising in the important fields, such as schools, religion, and labor circles.

Secretary General Kwon Ik-hyon once said that the DJP, too, must strain its nerves about the problems of schools and religion; and his statement drew attention. However, it seems that there have been no conspicuous changes in this respect. Various problems which arose in the process of establishing the Fifth Republic and the aftereffects of reforms, and political demands of and the opposition trend in some politically motivated groups--these are certainly important factors in effecting the stability of the situation. However, it is questionable how enthusiastically the DJP, as a leading party, dealt with them.

We simply would have to call it a too easygoing attitude, if one just sets aside these problems as those of legal dimension. If it is our understanding that the primary function of politics is to coordinate and settle the conflicts among various social groups and social strata, and that stability and development can come through that operation, there are still so many things the DJP has to do or has to be engaged in.

#### Announcement of People's Attitude Survey Results Is Withheld

In this connection, the public opinion survey conducted by the DJP on the occasion of the third anniversary of its founding is of significance on its own. A portion of the results, as made public, is also of significance.

It is said that the survey, which the ROK Gallup Poll Institute took in its charge, surveyed the attitude of the people by means of 97 questionnaire items as a method of keeping the greatest objectivity. But the party decided not to make its results public and, accordingly, the whole picture of the results is not known.

Some of the important points made known so far are that the supporting rate for the DJP is 35.8 percent, 0.2 percent higher than that at the time of the general election held on 25 March 1981; and that the supporting rate for the Minhan Party and the Kungmin Party is far below 10 percent. Of course the issue here is how close the interrelationship between the public poll and the polling rate of the general election is. If the interrelationship is close, we simply have to note that the support for the DJP has increased, whereas the support for the non-government parties has been tremendously decreased compared to that at the time of the general election. This high support rate cannot be evaluated as a successful one in the light of the fact that the DJP won a landslide victory in the recent election with the election rate of 98 percent and the 35.5 supporting rate. This is even more so when we think of the facts that the rich



"menu" items promised at the time of the party inauguration and election have not all come out yet, and that [the party] has suffered from the "german measles," such as the Chang Yong-cha incident and the Myongsong incident.

However, on the other hand, an important fact about the results of this survey is that those responses which we simply have to take as those of a political sneerer group occupied far above 20 percent.

If the incumbent politicians actively dealt with those smoldering problems in various circles and strata of the people with an attitude of tackling problems, a phenomenon of that much estrangement would not have come about.

These statistics point out in figures the serious lack of capacities on the part of political parties and the National Assembly of converging the will of the people and of settling problems.

On the assumption of political realities with such a weak structure which are to be affected invariably and seriously--more seriously than in any other country--by the domestic and international situations and circumstances, it is imperative that the DJP should strain its nerves more in controlling crisis factors.

Apart from problems to be seen in the aspect of political phenomena, the problem of posture is essential in the case of the DJP of today. The very posture of doing a job "by finding" one rather than by "being asked" to do one is a pioneer-like creative posture. It is an urgent task for the DJP to establish such a posture, in order to take historical national roots as a self-rotating, unique government force.

Even pro-DJP personages have pointed out the [prevailing] trend of the complacent-with-present-status or idle spectator-like posture of the party officials and National Assemblymen of the DJP.

Seismic Centers of Those 'Rumors' Spreading in Political Circles Are...

Some people ask: Is the DJP of today really going along "the sea route" promised to the masses of people 4 years ago following the loud setting-sail siren and gorgeous public promises?

Furthermore, voices are unceasingly coming out from both within and outside the party: that the party has been bureaucratized and has become stiff; that there is no democracy within the party; and that decisions are being made by a very small number of people while the process of discussion remains eliminated.

Within the party, there is definitely an atmosphere of refraining from speaking out if possible. It seems that a timid way of life is prevailing more and more: "You will lose, if you speak out," "It is the best policy to keep silent and do nothing." For example, one of the characteristics of meetings of the central executive committee and the general council of the National Assemblymen, in which those who are moving the party get together, is that they are very quiet, and there is not much talk. In many cases, they are filled exclusively with one-way proceedings, such as party affairs reports, explanation of policies, assembly floor reports, and announcements of requests and demands.



Free discussions, too, are centered around topics of minor grievances from the people or of administrative matters. Even in the case of the monthly meetings of the party-government policy coordination council between the government and the DJP, it often happens that those political "menu" items that should be placed on the agenda as a matter of course are dropped. There are a great number of committees in the party; and they are mostly low ranking organizations and are too powerless and quiet, it seems.

In short, such a phenomenon as this has to be evaluated as depoliticization of politics and self-reduction of the political domain.

Although at the beginning there were emphatic statements that the feeling-motivated politics and the attitude of constantly watching the situation must be rejected "point-blank," and that faith and self-discipline must be treasured, the impression now is that practices of feeling and of watching the situation are gradually coming back.

The government party's reduction of its domain caused various side effects. One of them is a rumor of all hues which infests political circles quite often. Even during the past year alone, rumors were so rampant that we may say that the year began with rumors and ended with rumors. They included the rumor about additional lift of ban [on political activities], one about an early general election, one about suspicious documents concerning failure in getting party recommendation in election, one about some kind of government measures, and one about a cabinet change. Where are the seismic centers of these rumors? Why is it that these political ghosts have a life power?

If vitality of politics is great, those ghosts which throw the political sphere into confusion will have difficulty in surviving.

Perhaps these phenomena can hardly come about in the political circles in Washington or Paris--advanced countries. We must turn over in our mind the reason for the fact that these phenomena often come about in the political circles in Seoul.

#### Problem of Successor, Etc Are Historical Responsibility

It may be noted that now is the time for the DJP to increase its roles and functions rapidly and to give a challenge to and make an experiment on the future.

Now the general election is getting near and the second half of President Chon Tu-hwan's term is about to begin. The 7-year term of President Chon is scheduled to end on 25 February 1988. The first half of his term ends on 25 August this year, to say it accurately. Politically speaking, it may be more natural to say that the second half of his term begins at the time of the 12th general election which is scheduled to be held at the end of this year or at the beginning of next year. Certainly the most stupendous political task that should be tackled during the second half of the term of his rule is peaceful transfer of government power.

The problem of succeeding government power is a historical task assigned to the DJP. High political energy and exquisite technology will be required to carry it out.

Among the questions asked the DJP, there is a question about the plan for naturalization of democracy. It would be hard to solve this problem without future-directed schemes and the will to give a challenge.

If we think that democracy in the ROK is still in the period of growing, we simply have to accept the proposition that the change in the container (system) of politics would be indispensable, just as a child has to change his clothes as he grows. The proposed change includes one in the system of self-government in local districts and reform in the election system. Although the DJP cannot follow the way the non-government parties suggest, it needs to have more progressive thinking on its own.

Even a change in the self-government system in local districts would mean a tremendous revision in the current political system. However, since it is a change promised in the constitution at the time of the inauguration of the Fifth Republic, it cannot be put off indefinitely. For the purpose of accommodating such a system change, too, it is imperative that the capacity of the DJP be further expanded. It needs the expansion of scale and the enhancement of skills.

The non-government parties can simply go on asserting, whereas the government party must take responsibility. Therefore, it needs more provisions than those needed by the non-government parties. Furthermore, it is a government policy for which there is, in reality, no substitute force. Thus it will become a government party whose responsibility is heavier than that of any government parties of the past.

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S. KOREA/POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

REPORTAGE ON POPE JOHN PAUL'S VISIT TO COUNTRY

Arrives in Seoul

SK030517 Seoul YONHAP in English 0513 GMT 3 May 84

[Text] Seoul, 3 May (YONHAP)--Pope John Paul II arrived here Thursday afternoon after a 20-hour flight from Rome via Fairbanks, Alaska.

A specially fitted Alitalia DC 10 carrying the pontiff touched down at Seoul's Kimpo International Airport at 2:11 p.m. (05:11 GMT).

The pope's airliner followed the same air route a Korean Air Lines Boeing 747 flew before it deviated from its set course and was shot down by a Soviet jet fighter in September 1983. During his flight, the pontiff prayed for the 269 people who died on board the KAL passenger plane.

South Korea is the first leg of the pope's 10-day Asian trip, the pope's 21st overseas journey since his election in 1978.

Further on Arrival Activities

SK030858 Seoul YONHAP in English 0843 GMT 3 May 84

[Text] Seoul, 3 May (YONHAP)--Pope John Paul II began his five-day pastoral visit to Korea by paying homage at the Choltusan Martyrs' Shrine on his way to downtown Seoul from Kimpo International Airport.

After a welcoming ceremony at the airport, the pope climbed into the "Pope-mobile," which was airlifted to Korea 10 days before the pontiff arrived, and headed for the memorial shrine perched on an outcropping of rock alongside the Han River in Seoul.

An estimated one million citizens packed both sides of the road leading to the shrine to welcome the first Roman catholic pope to visit the country.

At the entrance of the shrine were erected a bust of John Paul II and a tower inscribed with the words reading "the apostle of peace with us" and "John Paul II paying homage at the Choltusan sanctuary."

Built in 1966, the sanctuary includes a shrine to the martyrs, a memorial museum, relics of the martyrs, statues, books and other documents recalling the early bloody days of the 200-year-old catholic church in Korea.

After a 30-minute drive to the shrine, the pope met with 93 representatives of Korean martyrs' descendents and 27 representatives of the more than 1.7 million Korean catholics.

The pontiff burnt incense and recited a prayer before the shrine's altar.

Choe Yong-sun, a 55-year-old woman who was among the papal welcoming party revealed that she had come to Seoul Tuesday from her hometown in eastern Korea to see the pope. She said she wished the pope would "bring delight, hope, love and peace to this country."

The 58-year-old Kim Tong-kyu, whose birthplace is in North Korea, also said he hoped that the pope would pray for his brothers in communist North Korea and for the reunification of the divided Korean Peninsula.

#### Daily Hopes Visit Successful

SK030035 Seoul THE KOREA HERALD in English 3 May 84 p 4

[Editorial: "Papal Visit to Korea"]

[Text] All Korean are anxious to greet Pope John Paul II, who arrives this afternoon. Still echoing in our ears is the message the pope sent to the Korean people a week ago in his halting yet affectionate Korean: "I am thinking of and praying for the Korean people, as if my mind were already in Korea."

Preparations down to the smallest detail have been arranged for a five-day visit by the "people's pope," who has given the papacy a new image of youthful internationalism. We extend our sincerest welcome to the pontiff on his first trip to Korea, which has the world's fastest-growing catholic church.

The highlight of John Paul's trip will be the canonization of 103 martyrs in Korea, including 10 French missionaries who were killed during anti-Christian persecutions in the 19th century. Of particular significance is the fact that this will be the first canonization held outside the Vatican in modern times.

This year marks the bicentennial of the Korean Catholic Church, making the pope's visit all the more meaningful. Korea is the only country where the native catholic church was founded and fostered by the native people themselves, rather than by foreign missionaries.

The pope will find a dynamic church in South Korea that is growing at an unprecedented rate. The past three decades, the Korean Catholic Church has grown nearly 10 percent a year to reach its present strength of over 1.7 million. South Korea has a total population of 40 million.

The canonization of 103 martyrs, the largest number of saints to be proclaimed at one time, will give Korea more saints than any nation except Italy, Spain and France. It is to be noted that the pontiff has decided to exempt the 93 Korean saints from the usual requirement of at least two verified miracles for each candidates. This surely reflects the pope's special interest in Korea's catholics.

Amid the jubilation we feel at the approach of such an auspicious event, we are pained to see catholicism and other religions repressed in communist-held North Korea. Worse yet, the North's communists are desperate to communize the whole of the Korean Peninsula.

We applaud the pope's wish to "share the pains and hopes of all people on the Korean Peninsula" and his prayers for the Korean people to live in peace and happiness as one family at the earliest date possible. This papal prayer bears special significance considering the suffering Koreans have undergone because of their country's territorial division.

During his visit here, the pope will confer with President Chon Tu-hwan on matters of common interest. This meeting will be much more than ceremonial as the two leaders will discuss ways to achieve peace.

Last Sunday Korean catholics observed a "Day for Prayer for the Peaceful Reunification of Korea," reaffirming their resolve to spread the faith to their compatriots in the northern half of the peninsula. The Korean people as a whole should use the papal visit to add momentum to their drive for the peaceful unification of Korea.

The pope's Korean itinerary has been arranged so as to allow him to meet with as broad a cross section of Korean people as possible--the young, workers, the poor, the handicapped, as well as a visit to a leper colony. This reflects John Paul's emphasis on the "dignity of man" in our highly industrialized world as well as his unceasing concern for the underprivileged.

We are especially impressed with the pope's candid character and his ability to make people feel relaxed. We are saddened, however, to learn that major international terrorist groups are reportedly plotting to attack the pope during his Korea trip. Nonetheless, we expect that our extraordinary precautions will insure the pope's safety.

We hope John Paul II's visit to Korea will provide momentum to the spread of the gospel here, eventually leading to religious freedom in the north and national reconciliation based on brotherly love.

## Security for Pope's Visit

SK032141 Seoul YONHAP in English 1521 GMT 3 May 84

[By Yi Song-su]

[Text] Seoul, 3 May (YONHAP)--A week before Pope John Paul II left Rome for his 21st overseas trip, a 40,000-kilometer journey to South Korea, Papua New Guinea, the Solomon Islands and Thailand, the Vatican announced that it had received intelligence reports saying major international terrorists groups were plotting to attack the pontiff during his trip to South Korea.

The reports, put together and given to the Holy See by U.S. and Italian intelligence services, were immediately sent to Seoul, capital city of South Korea. Korean Ambassador to the Vatican City Kim Chwa-su, confirming his relay of the reports to Seoul, said, "We are prepared for any eventuality. I am convinced that our security services are taking every possible adequate precaution."

Among the terrorist groups cited in the reports are Turkey's neo-Nazi "Gray Wolves" and the notorious Venezuelan terrorist "Carlos." The terrorist groups reportedly were attempting to enter South Korea from neighboring Japan, with possible assistance from elements close to communist North Korea. It was not clear why the groups were reported to have picked South Korea and not other stops on the papal trip.

The "Gray Wolves," founded in 1968 and with about 15,000 members, are the private terrorist army of the neo-Nazi National Action Party of Retired Col Alpaslan Turkes, who is now standing trial in Turkey on a host of terrorism charges. Mehmet Ali Agca, the Turkish terrorist serving a life term in Italy for shooting the pope, reportedly had ties with the organization.

Usually, the Vatican City receives a certain number of threats on the holy father before a foreign trip, but keeps the threats to itself. This time, however, the threats were immediately reported to Seoul because "they were serious enough to have the host government alerted," a Vatican source said.

In fact, the pope, during his five-and-a-half-year pontificate, has been the target of two assassination attempts. He was shot and seriously wounded in Rome by a Turkish gunman on 13 May 1981, and narrowly escaped injury when a deranged Spanish priest lunged at him with a bayonet exactly one year later in Fatima, Portugal.

Pope John Paul II once praised the Japanese security police for their excellent security service during his visit to Japan in 1980. The papal compliments were contained in his official departure statement.

Wearing red nickties and armed with radiophones and 175-caliber revolvers and excellent self-defense art, some 400 security policemen on both active and reserve lists of the guard division, the Metropolitan Police Department of Tokyo, are exclusively in charge of security service for foreign dignitaries.



With their security stance, no foreign dignitaries have been shot down in Japan.

Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko called forth several of the security policemen and shook hands with them when he visited Japan in 1976. Even China's No 1 man Deng Xiaoping volunteered to pose for his photograph with security men during his visit to Japan several years ago.

During the papal visit to Korea, the pope is accompanied by only two unofficial security men selected from among the Royal Vatican Army which consists of only 100 Swiss voluntary troops in all. Unarmed, their security service is no more than symbolic.

In the medieval age, the pope, not only as the highest spiritual leader of the Christian world but also as a lord, had to recruit mercenaries from many parts of the world to protect his feudal territory, which included Rome.

When a unification war took place in Italy in the 18th century and Rome was seized by the army under the command of Emperor Emmanuel II, all the mercenaries fled. Only some 300 Swiss hired troops fought the enemy army to death. Since then the Royal Vatican Army has consisted of only Swiss volunteers with firm catholic faith.

Alerted by the intelligence reports from Rome, South Korean security authorities moved more than 4,000 provincial police into the capital to augment the estimated 30,000 regularly on duty. Even President Chon Tu-hwan ordered a full-scale anti-terrorism alert and assigned elite presidential guards to protect the pontiff.

The beefed-up security is also seen as an effort to keep college students from taking to streets for their anti-government demonstrations which have been going on for weeks. As a Vatican official said, Seoul wants the four-day papal visit to show Korea as a secure country in the wake of the Korean airliner incident and the North Korean bombing attack on the lives of South Korean Government officials in Rangoon, Burma.

South Korea has ample reason to hope for a successful papal visit in view of the 1986 Asian Games and the 1988 Summer Olympic Games, both schedule to be held in Seoul.

Catholic laymen are not even being allowed to bring Bibles with them when they participate in masses to be officiated by the pontiff. What they are allowed to bring are printed mass guides, mass veils, envelops and cash to be offered.

They also have been told to finish entering Yoido Plaza two hours before an open-air canonization ceremony for 103 martyrs, including 10 French missionaries, killed during the 19th century anti-Christian persecution together with some 10,000 unhappy converts. The mass begins at 9:30 a.m. on 6 May.

The canonization ceremony, perhaps the largest such ceremony in church history, will highlight the four-day papal visit to Korea, giving Korea, a country where catholics number only 4 percent of the population more saints than any nation except Italy, Spain and France.

Catholics even have been told to refrain from much food the previous day to keep themselves from making frequent visits to the 1,000-person capacity makeshift toilets during the ceremony.

Bricks of Myongdong Cathedral in Seoul, where the pontiff is scheduled to visit briefly to renew the consecration of Korea to the Virgin Mary Sunday morning, were checked one by one with radar equipment by the security force because the headquarters of the Korean Catholic Church underwent a partial renovation months ago.

Several days before the papal arrival in Seoul, Cardinal Stephen Kim Su-hwan, the highest catholic leader in Korea, read a welcoming message for the papal Korea visit. The message contained the Korean Catholic Church's deep thanks to government authorities for their right security arrangements. At that time, Kim said none of the intelligence reports from Rome were confirmed and expressed hope that such a horrible thing would not take place during the bicentennial celebration of Korean catholicism.

#### Vatican Envoy on Visit

SK040906 Seoul YONHAP in English 0852 GMT 4 May 84

[Text] Seoul, 4 May (YONHAP)--Pope John Paul's ongoing visit to South Korea has offered an opportunity for promoting the nation's image as a peace-loving country, South Korean Ambassador to the Vatican Kim Chwa-su said Friday.

In a news conference at the Foreign Ministry here, Kim said the Roman catholic leader's spirit of peace and love was intertwined with South Korea's principle of nonviolence, thus proving the nation's peace-loving image clearly.

The ambassador returned home Thursday afternoon accompanying the pontiff on his 3-7 May pastoral Korean visit to commemorate the bicentennial of Roman catholicism in Korea.

"On his way here, the pope praised the developments the Korean church has achieved during the past 200 years and which has given birth to an important and large church," Kim said.

Noting that the first 100 years of the Korean church was a period of hardships like that of the Roman church during its early years, the pope said such developments were possible only because the Korean catholics of the early days were wise enough to overcome hardships, according to the ambassador.

He stressed the pope's visit has strengthened relations between the Vatican and the Korean church while providing a chance for foreign mass media and citizens to renew their understanding of South Korea.

"Prior to the papal visit, foreign mass media and people had called the South Korean Embassy in the Holy See to know whether the canonization of 103 Koreans and French martyrs would be held in Rome or in Seoul," Kim said.

The pope is scheduled to declare 93 Korean and 10 French martyrs as saints during a ceremony here on 6 May, marking the first canonization to be held outside the Vatican in some 600 years.

Referring to reports on North Korea's probable attempt to harm the pope during his stay in Korea, the ambassador said Korean and Vatican officials in charge of the pontiff's safety have tried to arrange perfect security to prevent the communist regime from harming the "apostle of peace."

#### Arrives in Kwangju

SK040421 Seoul YONHAP in English 0319 GMT 4 May 84

[Text] Kwangju, Korea, 4 May (YONHAP)--Pope John Paul II arrived in Kwangju, the site of one of the country's three archdioceses, Friday morning on the second day of his five-day pastoral visit to Korea.

Friday has been officially designated as "the day of reconciliation."

The apostle of Christ was greeted by 22 representatives of the Korean Catholic Church and government officials at an air base in Kwangju, 260 kilometers south of Seoul.

The "Pope Mobile" moved from the airport to the Mudung Municipal Stadium in the capital of South Cholla Province, where he was to officiate a three-hour open-air mass.

More than 100,000 Kwangju citizens lined the city's streets to welcome the first Roman Catholic Pontiff ever to visit Korea as his motorcade made its way through this city of 843,000 people.

Mun Sun-tae, 45, head of the Kwangju chapter of the Catholic Journalist Club, said he hoped "the gospel of Christ will be echoed to the hidden society of communist North Korea so that the day when the entire people of North and South Korea could share love and delight will come soon."

Son Chang-man, 38, said he believed that with the papal visit all problems facing the nation would be solved.

Friday afternoon, the pope, on his 21st foreign trip, will proceed to Sorokdo, an island leper colony belonging to South Cholla Province.

He will meet with lepers for about two and a half hours. Thus he will stay for about eight hours and 45 minutes in this province. The hospital-island, founded 50 years ago, houses 2,300 lepers.

Catholicism spread to the South Cholla Province when catholic followers from North Cholla Province moved down to avoid persecutions inflicted on them during the 18th century.

The Kwangju Archdiocese has 109,186 followers. Nineteen hundred eight-three alone saw a conversion of 8,943.

Eighty-four priests, including 31 foreigners, 23 monks and 177 nuns are now working in the Kwangju Archdiocese. Archbishop Yun Kong-hui currently heads the Korean Episcopal Conference.

At the Daegon Theological Seminary, 56 students are studying to become priests.

Apart from the seminary, the Kwangju Archdiocese runs four high schools and two middle schools and three hospitals.

#### Kwangju Mass

SK040724 Seoul YONHAP in English 0642 GMT 4 May 84

[Text] Kwangju, Korea, 4 May (YONHAP)--More than 70,000 catholics, who packed the Mudung Stadium, chanted "Viva Papa" as Pope John Paul II entered the stadium in his bullet-proof glass "Pope Mobile" on the second day, "the Day of Reconciliation," of his five-day visit to Korea Friday.

In his sermon at the mass for baptism and confirmation of 72 catechumens, the pontiff said he was "keenly aware of the deep wounds that pain your hearts and souls from personal experiences and from recent tragedies, which are difficult to overcome from a merely human point of view, especially for those of you from Kwangju."

"Precisely for this reason the grace of reconciliation has been granted to you in baptism: it is a gift of the mercy of God manifested in Jesus Christ, who suffered, died, and rose again for us."

"This part of Christ's saving message is particularly relevant for those who are haunted by the memory of the unfortunate events of this place," the pope said.

Noting that baptism means "being reconciled to one another and to God in forgiveness and love," the pope said, "By accepting the consequences of our baptismal commitment, we become instruments of reconciliation and peace in the midst of dissension and hatred."

"In this way, as effective signs of Christ's healing power working through us, we can ease the pain of injured hearts that are filled with anxiety and bitterness."

"At the same time," the pope said, "we can offer hope to those who suffer from oppression, and thus become instruments of Christian liberation and signs of true freedom."

The pope personally anointed 17 of the 72 candidates for baptism and confirmation with Christ. The 17 symbolized the number of dioceses in Korea, of which three are for the "silent church" in North Korea.

The pontiff also distributed communion to 103 catholics symbolizing the number of Korean martyrs to be canonized by the pope Sunday in Seoul.

The pope said the mass in the Korean language and also read the introduction of his sermon in the Korean language.

After the mass, the pope was presented with ceramic ware by Governor of South Cholla Province Kim Chang-sik and his wife. Four catholic laymen of Kwangju presented the pope with bamboo craftwork and an Oriental painting. A fan with the symbol of harmony from the Korean national flag was presented by two catholics from Chongju Diocese, and a stone sculpture of a guardian god by two other catholics from Cheju Island.

Meanwhile, the Rev Victorinus Yun, archbishop of Kwangju and vice president of the Korean Bishop's Conference said, "In the distant past and near present history, through political, societal and economic changes and confusion, this people have suffered hardships and trials others have not."

"But the more obscure the darkness of these hardships becomes, the surer they become in the certainty that the glory of the resurrection is closer," he said. "We firmly believe that you, Holy Father, bring us the good news of hope and light that will dispel the darkness."

After the mass ended, the pontiff left for a catholic college in this provincial city to rest and eat lunch. He leaves for the lepers' colony island off the southern coast at 3 p.m. (06:00 GMT).

#### Leper Colony 4 May

SK040025 Seoul YONHAP in English 0010 GMT 4 May 84

[Text] Seoul, 4 May (YONHAP)--Pope John Paul II will begin his second day in South Korea Friday by traveling to the provincial capital of Kwangju to celebrate an open-air mass at Mudung Municipal Stadium.

The pope is expected to speak on the theme of reconciliation while in Kwangju. Kwangju, the capital of South Cholla Province in the southwest section of the Korean Peninsula, is a predominantly Roman Catholic city.

In the afternoon, the pontiff will travel to Sorokdo Island, the site of South Korea's state-run leper colony. The pope is likely to meet with the

pastor of the Sorokdo Parish, the Rev Fioencio Contrenas, when he visits the Korean National Leprosy Hospital on the island.

Contrenas, a Guadalupe missionary from Mexico, and other catholic religious and lay missionaries minister to the colony's 2,000 lepers.

In the evening, the pontiff will meet with the diplomatic corps at the Apostolic Nunciature, the Holy See's embassy in Seoul.

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## S. KOREA/POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

### PRIME MINISTER CHIN'S STATE AFFAIRS REPORT DISCUSSED

Seoul HANGUK ILBO in Korean 29 Feb 84 p 3

[Article: "Summary of Prime Minister Chin's State Affairs Report"]

[Text] International politics today is characterized as being uncertain and obscure, but the international political atmosphere that covers our Korean peninsula includes a lot of unpredictable variables, just like last winter's weather which was unusually cold and very changeable. Many scholars compare today's circumstances with the period when the Great Powers competed in our country at the end of the 19th century, and call for the people to awaken their minds.

Even though the North Korean communists try to solve all problems by force, they can at any time alter their overt propaganda and tactics in accordance with the situation. However, they never give up their ultimate goal of a Red unification by force.

We continuously urge North Korea to have a direct dialogue with South Korea in line with our ethnic bonds. But, unlike our position, when we analyze in detail the content and real intention of the tripartite conference proposal, which has been advanced by North Korea, we see that it does not have the real intention to truly engage in a dialogue. Their intention is to again try to invade South Korea by force after the withdrawal of U.S. forces from Korea in accord with a peace treaty with the United States.

In domestic politics, the 12th National Assembly election is becoming the main subject of interest for the people. The reason we want to prevent the election from becoming overheated is that it will not only harm the clean election atmosphere and prompt fears of a corrupt election, but also eventually hamper social stability and national development.

A clean election is the firm intention of the Fifth Republic. But a clean election is not possible merely because the government wants it. It can only be achieved through the common effort of all the people and politicians.

The present Constitution was formulated only 3 years ago after deep reflection and much study of the history of constitutional government. Moreover, the president has proclaimed, whenever he has the chance, his faith in a peaceful

political power change, and recently, in his state affairs speech, emphasized once more the peaceful political power change that eliminates political violence. Supporting firmly the present Constitution and peacefully changing the government in 1988 is the way to end the vicious circle of political waste and turmoil caused by the repeated constitutional revisions in the past, and will instill democracy in this land.

I am firmly informing the people that prices are stabilizing after a long time and making evident the success of price stabilization in the people's daily life.

Technical innovation is the most important task in improving quality, which is the soul of a product, and in strengthening competitiveness. There are various reasons for our foreign loan debt, but when we analyze it, we see that it occurred because a large portion of required investments depended on foreign capital due to the shortage of domestic savings.

The government will enforce the agricultural and fishing village income development and promotion law this year and prepare a plan to expand and establish secondary businesses and create factories in agricultural and fishing villages. It will continuously promote scientific and joint farming.

To develop provincial economies, economic conferences between representatives of the government and the localities will be held regularly from this year, and domestic banking activities will be expanded. A policy will be implemented to have the small- and medium-sized enterprises' special fund allocate money to provincial areas on a preferential basis.

The Seoul population centralization phenomenon is especially serious as the city grew by about 300,000 people last year. This year the government will develop the capital area improvement plan to prevent excessive population and economic power centralization in Seoul, and will keep on pursuing a development balanced between Seoul and the provinces.

For the past 30 years the chronic rioting occurring in university society has been the main obstacle to academic development and social stability. It is true that the rioting tendency of a small number of students has still not been rooted out. This is a big loss not only for the students themselves, but also for their families, their schools, and all of society.

The government made arrangements for students who were expelled from school to return to school in accordance with the desire of the people for academic stability and social unity and the professors' strong desire for the students to have an education and a good future despite having committed an error at one time.

From now on the government will resolve the school issue with a spirit of love and tolerance and will guarantee the autonomy of university operations and administration.

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S. KOREA/FOREIGN RELATIONS

YONHAP REPORTS ROK RED CROSS HEAD'S LETTER

SK281211 Seoul YONHAP in English 1204 GMT 28 Apr 84

[Text] Seoul, 28 Apr (YONHAP)--South Korea Saturday proposed to China to hold Red Cross talks to realize mutual visits by Korean residents in the communist country and their family members living in South Korea.

In an official letter President Yu Chang-sun of the South Korean National Red Cross sent to his Chinese counterpart, South Korea also invited Chinese Red Cross authorities to visit Seoul for such talks at the earliest possible date.

In addition, South Korea proposed to send its Red Cross representatives to appropriate places, including Hong Kong if China so desires.

The letter, written in English was addressed to "The People's Republic of China," China's official title never before officially used by South Korea. Beijing and Seoul have no diplomatic relations.

In the letter, Yu expressed his thanks for China's allowing of 194 Korean residents in the communist nation to visit their relatives in South Korea since 1978.

Noting that he understands the mutual visits by separated Korean family members between China and South Korea was discussed in a meeting between Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone and his Chinese counterpart Zhao Ziyang in March, Yu said such a discussion was welcomed not only by the South Korean people but also by all the peace-loving people of the world.

Yu called attention to the reported remarks by Zhao in a meeting with Nakasone in Peking that the Chinese [words indistinct] allow the Korean residents in China to visit their relatives in South Korea, and South Koreans to enter the country for the same purpose.

CSO: 4100/123

S. KOREA/FOREIGN RELATIONS

BRIEFS

FORMER COLOMBIAN PRESIDENT VISITS--Seoul, 30 Apr (YONHAP)--Colombia's conservative Party President Misael Pastrana Borrero met with South Korean Prime Minister Chin Ui-chong Monday morning to discuss ways of expanding economic cooperation between the two countries. Pastrana, Colombia's ex-president, arrived in Seoul Sunday afternoon for talks with South Korean Government leaders about the further promotion of Colombia-Korea overall relations.

[Text] [SK300114 Seoul YONHAP in English 0107 GMT 30 Apr 84]

CSO: 4100/123

S. KOREA/FOREIGN TRADE

ROK COMPANY TO HELP ZAIRE'S FISHING INDUSTRY

SK020537 Seoul YONHAP in English 0504 GMT 2 May 84

[Text] Seoul, 2 May (YONHAP)--A leading local fishing company soon will enter into a seven million U.S. dollar joint-venture project with Zaire to develop the African nation's fresh-water fisheries, industry sources here said Tuesday.

Daiho Ocean Fisheries Co Ltd will sign a joint-venture agreement with the Fitraco of Zaire in the African nation's capital of Kinshasa on 7 May, marking the first private-level economic cooperation agreement between the two countries, the sources said.

Under the agreement, the South Korean company will catch 300,000 tons of fresh-water fish in Zaire's Tanganika Lake annually and sell them in Zaire's domestic market.

The 32,900-square-kilometer lake is noted for its abundant source of fresh-water fish.

Of the total capital, Daiho will invest one million U.S. dollars, and its Zairian partner the rest, according to the sources.

A Daiho official said his company will provide Fitraco with advanced fishing skills as well as fish finders, luring lights and other up-to-date fishing equipment. The Zairian company in turn will supply fishing boats and fishermen for the project, he added.

The joint-venture project is expected to pave the way for bilateral economic cooperation between South Korea and Zaire, the sources said.

They noted the two nations have been briskly discussing bilateral economic cooperation following South Korean President Chon Tu-hwan's state visit to Zaire in August 1982 and Zairian President Mobutu Sese Seko's South Korean visit in June 1982. The two nations established diplomatic ties in 1963.

Last year, South Korea exported 6.6 million dollars of goods to the African nation while importing 2.5 million dollars from Zaire.

CSO: 4100/123

## N. KOREA/ECONOMY

### NEED FOR OBSERVATION OF PLANNING REGULATIONS EDITORIALIZED

Pyongyang MINJU CHOSON in Korean 9 Feb 84 p 1

[Text] Now all the people of our country are vigorously accelerating the construction of socialism by highly honoring a letter of the party central committee to all party members and strengthening combat mobilization preparations against the enemy's schemes to provoke another war.

We should establish epochal progress in fruitfully occupying the high ground of the Second Seven-Year Plan by vigorously accelerating socialist economic construction in a more tense political situation than at any other time, and realizing the 10 prospective goals of socialist economic construction. To establish better results in today's worthwhile struggle, we should thoroughly set up planning regulations in every department and every unit of the people's economy and surely implement the state plan which was given to us.

The great leader Comrade Kim Il-song has instructed as follows: "The state plan is precisely the order of the party and the law of the state, which was reflected in the opinions of all the people. No one has the right to go against it, and all economic organs and industries have only the obligation to implement it. ("The Works of Kim Il-song," Vol 24, pp 35-36)

A socialist economy is a planning economy, and all departments of the people's economy establish one unified organization, organically connected with one another. Under the unified plan of the state, that the people's economy develops in balance and as planned is one law in a socialist society.

The greater the size of an economy and the faster the speed with which it develops, the more importantly the issues of planning work and strengthening planning regulations are suggested.

To set up strong regulations which implement without fail the economic plan of the people is an important political demand for brilliantly realizing the far-sighted plan of the party.

Including in the economic plan of the people is the far-sighted plan of our party for the construction of socialism and communism. Our party



scientifically counts the intentions and demands of the masses and the inevitability of economic development, and then suggests correct economic policies in every period of our revolutionary development.

This year our party has suggested the militant tasks of vigorously accelerating the basic construction of five regional fronts, operating all factories and industries at full capacity, and further heightening the life of the people. In the plan of the people's economy for this year, the sublime meaning of the party to strengthen the economic power of the country in every way and to prepare a more independent and creative life for the people is included.

Only when we thoroughly implement the economic tasks which were given to us without the slightest error, in every department and every unit of the people's economy, can we brilliantly realize the intentions of the party.

Under the wise leadership of the party, our people have already prepared a strong foundation for an independent national economy. This then becomes the capital which makes it possible to firmly repulse any enemy's maneuvers and to vigorously accelerate the construction of a socialist economy.

In that from now on we should accelerate production and construction according to the wise leadership of the party and strengthen the economic power of the country in every way, we can maintain the right for national independence and display entirely the superiority of the socialist system and also advance the independent unification of the fatherland.

All workers should become deeply conscious of the meaning of implementing the people's economic plan this year, and should vigorously start the struggle for definitely implementing the tasks which are given to them.

The most important thing in thoroughly maintaining the planning regulations is to have a correct point of view and positive in regard to the plan.

State plans are orders of the party and laws of the state. This is reflected in the policies of every field, including industrial policy and agricultural policy.

Therefore, a struggle for implementing the people's economic plan becomes a struggle for realizing the plan of the party.

All functionaries and workers should have the correct understanding of state plans and implement them unconditionally. Various bottlenecks and difficulties may appear in the process of implementing vast plans. However, all workers should have a solid position and point of view that, no matter what happens, they cannot go against the people's economic plan, adopted as a statute of the state, and tenaciously adhere to the people's economic plan and should implement it to the very end.

Functionaries and workers of all departments should learn self-reliance, the revolutionary spirit of the arduous struggle which the main characters of

art films "Always One Spirit" and "The Oath of That Day" showed, and should implement plans according to the day, turn, and month by getting through fronting bottlenecks and difficulties under their own power.

In the struggle to implement the people's economic plan, the workers are in an important position and their role is very great.

This year, the people's economic plan before us demands that the workers vigorously open a breach at the head of a line with greater responsibility than at any other time.

Economic guidance workers should supply a condition in which producers may work with all their might by deeply permeating into reality and solving problems at the right time, and by concluding all management activities to the last detail. Together with this, based on scientific calculations in regard to equipment, labor, and material the economic guidance workers should set up a militant plan and vigorously spur mass producers to make them thoroughly implement it.

Growth of production accompanies consumption of raw materials and resources. Only when raw materials and resources which are needed for production are smoothly guaranteed may a high upsurge in production be created in every branch of production and the universal people's economic plan can be surpassed. The departments supplying materials, factories and industrial workers should become deeply conscious of the importance of their duty in the people's economic development and should responsibly transport raw materials and resources which are needed to the production site according to the demands of the far-sighted work system.

This contemporary age is an age of science and technology. Today, when all production processes are turned into technical processes, we cannot fruitfully implement the militant plan which was given to us without continuously reforming technology.

The effective way to solve labor and material tension which stands as an important problem in implementing the people's economic plan is to continuously reform technology.

Scientists and technicians should surely implement the plans of every department by realizing chuchezation, modernization, and scientification of the people's economy, by strengthening creative cooperation with mass producers, and by solving scientific and technical problems in mass production at the correct time.

Strengthening political work has an important meaning in fruitfully implementing the state plan.

The high political enthusiasm of the workers is a decisive factor in the growth of production.

Workers of the people's governing organ and the economic guidance organ should become deeply conscious of the meaning and importance of political work

and intensively begin political work to heighten the enthusiasm of mass producers under the guidance and assistance of the party organization and members of Three Revolutions Teams.

Workers of the people's governing organ should be deeply conscious of their duty as householders who are responsible for the people's lives and should further heighten the workers' political enthusiasm by performing well the rear supply work for them.

To heighten the controlling role of the planning organ and the economic organ appears to be one important issue in strengthening planning regulations.

State planning organs and economic organs should always control the conditions for implementing the plan, and straighten things up when there is something to straighten up and solve problems at the correct time if there are any to be solved.

This year's plan which is the last year of the implementation of the Second Seven-Year Plan, is predicted to have a high growth rate. Therefore all workers should vigorously begin the struggle to implement the people's economic plan with greater responsibility than at any other time.

All functionaries and workers should definitely implement the militant task which is given to them, working in a revolutionary manner according to the needs of the political situation.

Let's further strengthen the economic power of the country by all of our thoroughly maintaining the planning regulations and surpassing the people's economic plan.

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END